DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 032 336 24 TE 499 934

By-Minear, Lawrence

Lincoln and Emancipation: A Man's Dialogue with His Times. Teacher and Student Manuals.

Amherst Coll., Mass.

Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.

Report No-CRP-H-168

Bureau No-BR-5-1071

Pub Date 66

Contract-OEC-5-10-158

Note-137p.

EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC Not Available from EDRS.

Descriptors-*Civil War (United States), *Curriculum Guides, Democracy, Government Role, *Leadership Qualities, Leadership Styles, Political Influences, Political Issues, Political Power, Role Conflict, Secondary Education, Self Concept, *Slavery, *Social Studies, United States History

Identifiers-*Abraham Lincoln, Emancipation Proclamation

Focusing on Abraham Lincoln and the emancipation of the Negro, this social studies unit explores the relationships among men and events, the qualities of leadership, and the nature of historical change. Lincoln's evolving views of the Negro are examined through (1) the historical context in which Lincoln's beliefs about Negroes took shape, (2) the developments in Lincoln's political life, from 1832 through 1861, which affected his beliefs about Negroes, (3) the various military, political, and diplomatic pressures exerted on Lincoln as President which made him either the captive or master of events, (4) the two Emancipation Proclamations and the relationship between principle and expediency, (5) the impact of the emancipation on Lincoln's understanding of the conduct and purposes of the war and the conditions of peace, and (6) Lincoln's views on reconstruction in relation to emancipation. Inlcuded are suggestions for further reading, maps, charts, and writings from the period which elucidate Lincoln's political milieu. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (Author/JB)

ED032336

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

BR-5-1
PA-24
OE-BR

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

TEACHER'S MANUAL

LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION:

A MAN'S DIALOGUE WITH HIS TIMES

Lawrence Minear
New Trier High School
Winnetka, Illinois

This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168

TE 499 934

NOTE TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

This unit was prepared by the Committee on the Study of History, Amherst College, under contract with the United States Office of Education. It is one of a number of units prepared by the Amherst Project, and was designed to be used either in series with other units from the Project or independently, in conjunction with other materials. While the units were geared initially for college-preparatory students at the high school level, experiments with them by the Amherst Project suggest the adaptability of many of them, either wholly or in part, for a considerable range of age and ability levels, as well as in a number of different kinds of courses.

The units have been used experimentally in selected schools throughout the country, in a wide range of teaching/learning situations. The results of those experiments will be incorporated in the Final Report of the Project on Cooperative Research grant H-168, which will be distributed through ERIC.

Except in one respect, the unit reproduced here is the same as the experimental unit prepared and tried out by the Project. The single exception is the removal of excerpted articles which originally appeared elsewhere and are under copyright. While the Project received special permission from authors and publishers to use these materials in its experimental edition, the original copyright remains in force, and the Project cannot put such materials in the public domain. They have been replaced in the present edition by bracketed summaries, and full bibliographical references have been included in order that the reader may find the material in the original.

This unit was initially prepared in the summer of 1966.

This unit deals with the classic question of the role of the "great man" in history. It focusses on Abraham Lincoln and the emancipation of the negro, and thus poses the question in terms of one of the greatest American heroes and an accomplishment which is usually cited as among his greatest. Confronting the evidence at hand, the student is asked to assess the extent to which Lincoln's role as "the Great Emancipator" was forced upon him by his times, and the extent to which he himself shaped those times in pursuit of a desired end. As a teaching device, the question is put bluntly and familiarly: Do the times make the man, or does the man make the times? The hope is that in pursuing it the student will come not only to an appreciation of the subtlety of the question, but that in so doing he will develop a greater sophistication in thinking and talking about such questions as the relationship between men and events, the nature of "greatness," and the nature of historical change.

The Introduction poses the general question of the relation of men to their times. Section I provides the student with evidence of the historical context in which Lincoln's beliefs about negroes took shape. Section II shows the developments in Lincoln's political life before his inauguration as President and the concomitant developments in his beliefs about negroes. Section III asks the students to study the various pressures exerted on the President during the years 1861-1862, and to determine whether in issuing the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln was the captive of events or their master. Section IV presents the two Emancipation Proclamations against the background of the important military and political events of the times. The student is asked whether the Great Emancipator acted on grounds of principle or of political expediency, or both, and in what measure. Section V studies the impact of emancipation on Lincoln's understanding of the conduct and purposes of the war and the conditions of the peace. Section VI presents Lincoln's views on reconstruction in relation to emancipation.

The foregoing suggests what the unit is, it might be well to make clear from the outset what the unit is not. The unit is not a study of the origins of the civil war, although some of them are evident from the documents. It is not a study of the war itself, although the guns are always in the background. It is not a study of the Emancipation Proclamation, except as that document is set in the context of Lincoln's total life and thought. It is not a study of the wide-ranging effects of that Proclamation, except as they effect Lincoln himself. It is not a study of Reconstruction, though the outlines of that tragic era are clearly discernible.

The suggestions which follow are not intended to set a pattern by which the unit must be taught and the teacher should feel free at all times to vary from the procedure suggested in this manual. The student, however, should be encouraged to question and to think, and the teacher should see himself as a guide to discovery rather than a mere supplier of facts.

The time required for study of this unit may vary greatly in accordance with individual circumstances. In terms of an all over period of two weeks for study of the entire unit, the recommended time allotment would be approximately as follows:

Introduction	1 day
Section I	1 day
Section II	2 days
Section III	2 days
Section IV	1 day
Section V	1 day
Section VI	1 day

This allocation of time leaves one day which, at some point in the study of the unit, could well be spent in analyzing Lincoln's literary style. It may be of some interest to the students to recall that President-elect Kennedy did this very thing before preparing his own inaugural address. This unit provides an excellent basis for such a study, offering selections from both his writings and his speeches over the span of his entire political career, and from formal addresses and documents to more informal letters and speeches.

INTRODUCTION

The Introduction confronts the student with three statements about the relationship between great men and their times. Carlyle says that men determine history. Lincoln credits events with the key role. Hegel speaks of a mutual interaction between men and events. The student might be asked which of these he agrees with. A short written assignment, prepared outside of class might encourage the student to be specific on this subject or since the issue is at least initially fairly clear cut, a class discussion might be productive. Such a discussion might focus on a major figure in American history previously studied during the year--Washington or Jefferson, for example. Wherein did their greatness lie? Did they represent the hopes of the people at large? Or did they themselves somehow inspire those hopes? Is it mere accident that they appeared at a critical moment in history, or did they help to precipitate the crisis? Did they act, or react? Did they guide events, or channel in a certain direction people's responses to already existing events? In short, what was their relationship to their times?

Hegel may have few, if any, disciples at this stage of the unit. It would probably be better from the point of view of general teaching strategy not to force his views on the attention of students, who might thereby find themselves talking his language without really understanding it. The chances are that by the time they complete the unit the Hegelian position will mean a great deal more to them, and a considerably larger number may be ready to espouse it.

SECTION I

THE ILLINOIS IN LINCOLN

Section I, "The Illinois in Lincoln," presenting the reactions of Illinois presidents in 1847 toward the negro clause, suggests the prevailing atmosphere in which Lincoln grew up. The sentiments expressed in Part A are of interest because each is advocated either by Lincoln or by his political adversaries, or by both, at one point or another in the unit. These statements and the statistics in Parts B and C provide the basis upon which generalizations may be advanced about the beliefs of Lincoln's contemporaries with regard to negroes, both slave and free, about the impact of geography on beliefs, and about the extent to which either political party in 1847 represented a particular belief about slavery. Some students might be asked to prepare at home their generalizations on the basis of Part A, others on Part C. The class time could then be spent arriving at generalizations based on both Parts.

What generalizations might be derived from this process. Students will see that Illinois residents were largely opposed to negroes, free or slave; that even those who acted on "principle" favored colonization elsewhere in the world (A, #2) or apartheid in this country (A, #6); that, generally speaking, there is a direct correlation between a person's attitudes toward negroes and where that person lives in Illinois, as well as to his place of birth; that people from the southern states populated southern Illinois, northerners northern Illinois, and that thus the state itself was a microsm of the nation as a whole in the pre-civil war period; that the political parties bore no absolute correlation to the sections of the United States in which the delegates were born, to the sections of the state in which they then lived, or to a particular view with respect to negroes; and, finally, that the "Free State" of Illinois was clearly somewhat less than unequivocal in the freedom it awarded its negro residents, the information about the Black Laws (footnote 5) is important in establishing this fact.

In working toward these generalizations, the student should establish a familiarity with the Illinois background which will enable him on subsequent occasions to analyze the historical and geographical context of Lincoln's views and actions. The student might be asked to speculate, knowing little in detail of Lincoln, what his views on the negro might well have been in his early years, given this geographical and historical setting.

SECTION II

FROM ILLINOIS TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Section II focusses on Lincoln and his attitudes toward negroes in the years 1832-1861. The student should ask not merely what Lincoln's views were, but how they were related to public opinion in Illinois, in the North, and in the country as a whole. Certain general conclusions about Lincoln's views are clear: during the years the Great Emancipator was not emancipation-minded, and in fact until the mid-fifties he was not even particularly concerned about slavery; his party allegiances moved from Whig to Republican, a party which took a clear-cut, if moderate, stand against slavery; his moderate view in 1860 took the middle ground between the permissive Democrats and the adamant Abolitionists. In order to encourage the student to formulate these and other more specific observations, the student might be asked to specify precisely what each selection reveals about Lincoln's attitude toward negroes. Further, what relation did his views bear to the public opinion then current? Does the student find any evidence that Lincoln's views on the negro question were in advance of the prevailing public opinion during this period? Do they appear to have been governed by conviction, by political expediency, or perhaps by both?

Part A establishes certain traits which remain constant throughout Lincoln's political life. His 1832 speech (A, #2) shows a basic faith in the judgment of the people and a willingness to change his mind. The student might be alerted to watch for such changes.

His 1837 resolution (A, #3) suggests the kind of middle-of-the-road position Lincoln maintained until after the outbreak of the Civil War. He opposed slavery but argued that under the Constitution the federal government had no power to interfere with it in the states. This was the prevailing view of the large majority, a view to which the abolitionists demurred, arguing that if the Constitution prevented action to eradicate slavery the Constitution itself should be scrapped. Equally interesting in this document are Lincoln's essentially conservative opinions that the very promulgation of abolitionist doctrines was a bad thing, presumably because it inflamed Southern feelings, and that while Congress had the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia it should not do so unless the people there desired its abolition. The latter position is essentially that of "squatter sovereignty" which Stephen A. Douglas advocated for Kansas-Nebraska in the 1850's. Lincoln by then is opposed to it.

Part B deals with the brief period in which Lincoln was in the House of Representatives and with his position in the election of 1848. While he supported the Wilmot Proviso, he remained a loyal Whig in the election despite the advent of a party committed to the principle of free soil. Students may enjoy discovering the circuitous political "logic" of Lincoln's campaign speech in 1848(B, #2). Clearly the speech is designed to keep anti-slavery Whigs, whose numbers were large in Massachusetts, from sliding into the Free Soil camp. In effect Lincoln argued that the Free Soil Party lagged "behind" the Whigs on the question of slavery extension because the only effect of their campaign would be to elect a Democrat. He offered no evidence that Taylor would oppose extension, though he "confidently believed" that the General would not encourage it. The elections results (B, #3) suggest both the closeness of the election and the reason a Whig from a state like Illinois might be concerned about the Free Soil Party. In that state the Free Soil vote was obviously more than enough to tip the narrow balance between the parties.

Part C deals with Lincoln's response to the Kansas-Nebraske Act, and with his move into the fold of the New Republican Party. Clearly the Kansas-Nebraska Act galvanized his thinking, as it did that of many others. It threatened the extension of slavery not just into newly acquired territory, but into territory where it had long since been prohibited, in this case by the Missouri Compromise. The ensuing moral outrage led to the collapse of the old Whig Party, which had a large Southern following and had side-stepped the question of slavery extension, and to the rise of a new party which was almost wholly Northern and wholeheartedly opposed the extension of slavery anywhere. A comparison of Lincoln's speech in behalf of Taylor in 1848 (B, #2) with his Peoria and Kalamazoo speeches in this section (#C2 and C4) should dramatize the evolution in political thinking which was involved for Lincoln, as well as for many others. The old party loyalty crumbles in the face of a more clearly seen--and clearly stated--question of principle; and while as late as 1855 Lincoln spoke of not wanting to be "unwhigged" (C, #3), by the time of the Kalamazoo speech all reference to the old party is gone.

"Principle," of course, can be taken too far in analyzing the rise of the Republican party. One effective way of teaching this section might be to ask the student to read the arresting essay on Lincoln in Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition, a book available in Vintage paperback. Hofstadter argues that the chief selling point of the Republican message was its promise to keep the West open for free labor rather than its opposition to slavery. It thus appealed to many who had no convictions whatever about the rightness or wrongness of slavery but who were concerned only about having to compete with it. Before he plumps too wholeheartedly for the notion that after 1854 Lincoln has become "a man of principle," the student should consider this argument, and he might be asked to consider the Peoria speech in light of it. It may be that Lincoln is merely becoming a much more skillful politician. If he opts for this argument, the student might be asked to consider the possible role of politics in advancing principle.

Clearly Lincoln, in all this, is responding to his times. Up to the time of his Peoria speech (C, #2) there is nothing in any sense "creative" in what he has said or done on the subject of slavery. If the teacher has kept the "times or the man" question in the forefront, the answer will have been an easy one so far. With the Peoria speech, it begins to get more difficult. In it Lincoln strongly opposes something that has been proposed, and began to articulate a position which a new political party would shortly espouse; indeed, that speech placed him among the leaders of the so-called "anti-Nebraska" men who would soon become the Republicans. The student should be asked not only to analyze the message--in which he will find many themes which Lincoln repeated throughout the rest of his life--but to evaluate what Lincoln was doing in enunciating it. Was he "leading," and if so, how? Did the fact that other and more prominent people were moving in the same direction and articulating the same message make Lincoln any less a leader, or did it merely make him a less important one? Such a discussion would of course deal with the very nature of leadership, and it should lead some students to argue that Lincoln was beginning to put into words the will of his age, one of Hegel's requirements for a "great man," even if he was as yet not able to accomplish it.

What Lincoln said in the Peoria speech is important and should be analyzed. Coming to grips with slavery more concretely than he had ever done before, Lincoln was obviously caught on the horns of a dilemma. If he believed the statement in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal--which he clearly did--how did he square this with his insistence that he would not make negroes the political or social equals of whites? The student will want to analyze the way Lincoln seemed to square the two positions at this point, in order to see if his fundamental position changed later on. There are other themes which it is important for the student to notice as well. One was Lincoln's hatred of slavery, voiced here in public for the first time, yet his compassion for the slaveholder, a sentiment which he retained even in the darkest months of the civil war. A second theme which Lincoln continued to favor throughout his life was support of a colonization scheme as had been advocated by Mr. Pinckney in the convention debates of 1847. Other themes were his sympathy for gradual emancipation and his abhorrence of political and social equality, articulated by Mr. Davis in 1847 and reiterated by Lincoln himself in 1858 and in the early years of his presidency. The student might note Lincoln's accommodation with the abolitionists in this speech and compare it with his castigation of the abolitionists in 1837.

The letter to Speed (C, #3) in comparison with the letter to Speed's wife (A, #4) leads the student to ask why the same scene was remembered differently in 1854 than in 1841. Was Lincoln being dishonest, or does human memory function in this fashion. A similar comparison might relate the Kalamazoo Speech of 1856 (C, #4) to the principles of the Free Soil Party (B, #1) against which Lincoln campaigned in 1848. What accounts for these changes?

In the 1856 election, the American or Know Nothing Party drew some of the Old Whig votes (C, #5). This Party based its appeal on implementing restrictions on equal rights for foreigners and did not take a position on the issue of slavery. From the statistics the student might be led to deduce the growing polarization as Northern Democrats gravitated into the Republican Party and Southern Whigs swelled the Democratic ranks.

In Part D, the continuing question of the nature of Lincoln's beliefs is raised by Douglas's charge that Lincoln's principles change with his movement around the state (D, #3). By using the map in Section I, the student will be able to relate Lincoln's various statements to the localities in which they were made and to the views expressed at the convention of 1847. In this context, it should be noted that Lincoln's Charlestown Speech (D, #3) is a current favorite of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, and other groups desirous of making Lincoln into a patron saint of race supremacy or apartheid ideas.

Reference to the map will also reveal the candidates' campaign strategies. Since the central tier of counties in the state was the most crucial, only ten of Lincoln's speeches and only one-third of Douglas's were delivered north of Galesburg and south of Alton. One footnote of historical interest on the Lincoln-Douglas campaign: it was the first campaign in American politics to be covered from start to finish by stenographic reporters, in this case hired by newspapers. Also, the formats of the debates were consulted during the Kennedy-Nixon exchange of 1960.

Part E deals with Lincoln's election to the presidency. The Cooper Union speech, a masterpiece of legal and political logic, was generally credited with winning Lincoln the nomination. The portion reproduced here (#, #2) is a restatement of Lincoln's position on the slavery question; the student will want to compare this with the Republican platform (E, #3). Both were explicit in their insistence that slavery not be extended beyond its existing boundaries, but both carefully asserted that it should not be touched in the states where it then existed. Clearly Lincoln's position was more moderate than that of Seward, and the votes in the Republican convention, broken down by region in the fourth selection suggest that this was an important factor in winning the nomination for Lincoln. At the same time his insistence on condemning slavery as morally wrong, coupled with his prophecy in 1858 that the nation could not long remain half slave and half free, had the effect of frightening Southerners who believed--or professed to believe--that he was at heart an abolitionist. Students might be asked whether they think this was, in fact, the case. Did Lincoln come to the presidency prepared to emancipate the slaves?

The Illinois map (E, #5) invites comparison with the Illinois votes on the question of slavery in 1847 as presented in Part C of Section I. Students might be asked to analyze the difference in specific counties and to suggest to what extent the people and the times had changed in the thirteen year interval. The national results (E, #6) suggest both the sectional nature of Lincoln's victory, and its narrowness. The perceptive student will notice that Lincoln won the electoral votes of every single free state, with the sole exception of three votes for Douglas in New Jersey, and that he lost every last slave state vote. At the same time his popular margin over Douglas in the free states was relatively narrow, and in terms of total popular vote Lincoln was a minority president. What bearing might this be expected to have on him once in office?

SECTION III

A WAR FOR UNION--OR FREEDOM?

Section III presents evidence of the pressures from every quarter which bombarded Lincoln during 1861 and 1862. The student is asked to study this evidence and to determine whether Lincoln, in issuing the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, was the captive of events or their master. Does the war for Union become a war for freedom because of Lincoln or in spite of him? Does his timing in issuing the Proclamation indicate a mastery of events or a succumbing to them?

There were three major types of pressures operating on the President. In the political sphere Lincoln was caught in a cross-fire between two contradictory pressures: those from the Border states, whose secession would have been assured in 1861 had the war been at that time a war to free the slaves; and those from the abolitionists, who urged immediate and universal emancipation. This conflict can be dramatized by juxtaposing such selections as the description of the Baltimore incident (#5), Lincoln's letter of September 22, 1861 (#11), and Lincoln's response to the offer of negro troops from Indiana (#29) against Sumner's question (#17), Wendell Phillip's prediction (#18), and Lincoln's description of his three abolitionist visitors (#25). Lincoln was also subjected to considerable political pressure from Congress. The Acts passed by Congress (#12, 16, 19, and 14) and the episodes presented in documents 17 and 25 would seem to indicate that Congress was moving more rapidly toward emancipation than was Lincoln.

Lincoln was also subjected to diplomatic pressures. Southern agents in Europe were seeking diplomatic recognition for the Confederate States of America or, lacking that, at least "anonymous" material aid. They succeeded in getting English-built ships and almost secured recognition as well. Lincoln's diplomatic problem was complicated because the Union had alienated several European governments, especially the British. In halting the British ship Trent on the high seas and removing three Confederate ambassadors, the Union had violated time honored maritime tradition and international law. In instituting a naval blockade of the South, the Union had effectively prevented the shipment of southern cotton to European mills. The resultant distress, which Adams reported in his letter to Seward (#34), caused the mill owners and government officials to advocate recognition of the Confederacy. Lincoln thwarted this by transforming the war from a struggle to preserve a federal union, which the British preferred to regard as a war to crush the South's movement for independence, into a war to vanquish slavery. What European government could oppose such a war, especially the British government which had led the fight to abolish slavery and which in 1861 with the United States had instituted a joint patrol of the African coast to prevent illicit trade in human beings? These diplomatic pressures and Lincoln's responses are indicated in documents 2, 3, 6, 8, 23, 27, 33, and 34. An interesting footnote on this subject--it was later revealed that a meeting of the English cabinet had been called in mid-September to discuss the issue of recognition but was postponed pending the outcome of the South's invasion of Maryland.

The third type of pressure was military, and the Emancipation Proclamation was finally issued as a military necessity. The increasingly desperate military straits in which the North found itself is indicated in documents 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 36, and 37. The successive calls for volunteers and the popular response thereto indicate a downturn of popular enthusiasm suggesting the snowballing effect of continued failures in the field (#4, 9, 20, and 28.). Emancipation appeared to offer a way of sapping Confederate resources. Slaves who had dug the trenches on the fronts, as well as those who had tended the farms while the owners were away at war, would therewith be removed as strategic factors. An examination of Lincoln's reasons for overruling Generals Hunter and Fremont (#11) should evoke a worthwhile discussion on the importance of timing. The military pressures on Lincoln can also be indicated effectively by following the course of the war during 1861 and 1862 on classroom maps. Lincoln's difficulties in finding capable generals during this period might be the subject of a special report which would illuminate another aspect of this topic.

There were as well other pressures on Lincoln which the student might profitably analyze. Having done so, he might be asked to weigh the various pressures against each other. Douglas and Dodson obviously carried less weight than did the slaveholders in the Border states, as Lincoln himself pointed out in documents 11 and 29. Preserving the loyalty of the Border states similarly outweighed the diplomatic fruits to be reaped abroad from freeing the slaves. Even the pressure from abolitionists coupled with those from negroes and with considerations of a humanitarian and a diplomatic nature were not decisive for Lincoln until reinforced by military necessity.

Was Lincoln, the Emancipator, the master or captive of these conflicting pressures? It seems fair to say that he refused to be swayed by any single pressure and considered only the best possible way of preserving the Union, which turned out to be emancipation of the slaves (#30). Some historians have argued that the Proclamation represented a capitulation to the abolistionists. The letter to Greeley, however, suggests that Lincoln used their suggestion for his own ends rather than allowing himself to be used by them. This letter also provides Lincoln's most succinct statement of his personal beliefs about slavery and his view of the emancipation issue as distinguished from his understanding of his mandate as President. One is struck by its moderate and flexible approach. Documents 1, 15, 21, 24, 29, 31, 32, 35, and 38 also offer the student an opportunity to study his developing sense of history.

Two additional points may well be mentioned. The Act of July 17, 1862 (#24) really "scooped" Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. It was not effective because of its "clogs," the most important being that slaves had to arrive inside the Union lines before they could be considered to be free. While the reception of negroes at the White House (#31) may strike modern readers as ordinary, the conference described here was in fact the first such conference in American history.

It may be that by Section III the student will have realized the shallowness of the basic question posed in the Introduction. He may see that it is not a matter either of the man influencing events or of events controlling the man but of the interaction of man and events. This interaction is well illustrated in Section III.

SECTION IV

TWO PROCLAMATIONS

Section IV presents the two emancipation proclamations in the context of current military and political developments. The student is asked to relate the documents to each other and to their times in which they were issued. The basic question once again is whether Lincoln was the captive of events or their master. The careful formulation of these proclamations and the strategy behind them would suggest a President who exercised a determinative influence on the pace and direction of events, given the context of the war.

The preliminary proclamation is surprisingly moderate. It announced a change which would take effect only after one hundred days, if then, and it recommended compensated emancipation and colonization. Students might be asked to relate these ideas to ideas which appeared in earlier days, the 1847 debates (Section I), the Peoria Speech (II, 2), the conversations with Border state citizens (III, 19), and so on. The final proclamation omitted any reference to compensated emancipation, an idea which Lincoln nonetheless reiterated in the last speech he made.(VI, B, 7), and colonization, which Lincoln did not again advocate publicically. Another important change is the acceptance of negroes into the armed forces, a major departure from earlier policy which had an enormous impact both on the military aspects of the war and on the thinking of the commander-in-chief of the Union forces. The justification for this measure, as for the final proclamation itself, was military necessity as suggested by the military record (#9).

The question which the student might find particularly revealing would be how many slaves were really affected by the final proclamation. In his careful way, Lincoln limited the impact of the Proclamation to certain areas. He excluded slaves in the Border states but included those in rebel areas, except for select counties in Louisiana and Virginia where there was either no military necessity or where he saw the beginnings of compliance with the terms of the Preliminary Proclamation. This briefly selective quality baffled almost all foreign observers, who noted that Lincoln freed the slaves in areas where his proclamation had no force, and left them in bondage in areas where he had power to realize emancipation (#6). But Lincoln the emancipator is thoroughly Lincoln the politician. In fact, some historians may be correct in surmising that from a presidential viewpoint as opposed to a personal one, Lincoln would have preferred not to issue the final proclamation. Certainly in some aspects it marked the failure to achieve some of the goals set in the Proclamation. In evaluating the final document, the student might return to Lincoln's letter to Greeley (III, 30) and decide which of the then stated alternatives the president employed.

Section IV omits descriptions of the popular reactions to the Proclamation: the wild celebrations which took place in the cities across the North, the more subdued but equally elated rejoicing among southern slaves, and the grim stoicism of their masters and of non-slaveholding southerners. Several students might be asked to do special research on these reactions and to present reports to the class. Ample information is available in Chapter 5 of Franklin's The Emancipation Proclamation, "The Day of Days."

As for specific assignments related to Section IV, the student might be asked to write a short paper comparing the two proclamations. Or he might compare Illinois voting in 1862 (#7) with that in 1860 and 1847. How much have the times changed? Greeley's observation (#8) is worth pondering in this connection. The view that Lincoln's edict was ahead of popular sentiment is doubly illuminating coming from one who had previously chided the president for being behind the times. The Douglass comment (#4) raises a question shared by many: would Lincoln follow through and issue the Final Proclamation? The student might be asked to what extent Lincoln was bound to abide by his decision once having announced his intention? The comment on the situation in Kentucky (#12) suggests one reason why he might still have changed his mind. Could it be that among the events which influence great men can be found their own prior acts?

SECTION V

A NEW WAR

Section V presents the students with the consequences which follow from the Emancipation Proclamation. The use of negro soldiers, the subsequent need to protect them from mistreatment by Confederate and Union men alike, and the further question of equal pay follow so logically and apparently inexorably that the student needs to ask, again, whether Lincoln was not simply being swept along by the consequences of previous events, his own acts included. Or was he, on the contrary, directing these events as he saw fit? When the president who had repeatedly refused to accept Negro troops now intervenes in their behalf, has he changed, or have the times changed? If he has changed his mind, should his willingness to do so affect an appraisal of Lincoln? In this context it is interesting to recall Lincoln's own remarks on this subject in his first political speech (II, A2). Not only have the times learned from Lincoln, but he from them.

In Part A, the question of the "government . . . doing its duty to the colored soldier" is highlighted in the situation reported in the fifth selection. Lincoln's speech to the Indiana Regiment (A, 8) is of interest because of its mood, for the first time Lincoln seemed to be light-hearted, due no doubt to the approaching end of the war. Lincoln's letter to Hodges (A, #9) is crucial for Lincoln here asserted that "events have controlled me," thus providing one answer to the key question of the entire unit. Did Lincoln speak from modesty or profundity?

Part B affords the student the opportunity to analyze Lincoln's changing conception of the purpose of the war. In March, 1861, it was a war for Union; by 1863, it had become a war for emancipation, as sensed by the Union soldier (B, #3). During the years 1863 to 1865, a third war aim takes shape, equality, as suggested by the following selection (B, #4). The war for equality never became Lincoln's war. For this and other reasons, it was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1866 that equal protection in public accommodations, employment, and other areas was sought for the negro, and this act was subsequently declared unconstitutional. Once again, thanks to the continuing radicalism of the abolitionists, Lincoln maintains his middle-of-the-road position, though that stance now embraces the goals held by the abolitionists themselves in the early years of the war. The student might be asked why Lincoln never delivered an Equality Proclamation. One answer might be based on Lincoln's roots in Illinois and on his understanding of the purposes for which the war was being fought. Lincoln's Second Inaugural (B, #8) is included not simply for the sake of familiarity nor even for its eloquence, but because it indicates the subtle and complex understanding of the mature Lincoln as to the purposes of the war. It provides an instructive comparison with the views stated in his First Inaugural Address in March, 1861 (III, #1).

SECTION VI

A NEW NATION

Section VI traces the implications of the new war for the new nation. The general question is still the same. The evidence here seems to point to the conclusion that Lincoln's direction of Reconstruction in the South was in keeping with his other actions, pressures from Radicals for a more absolutist policy notwithstanding, and to the conclusion as well that his contribution toward emancipation in the North was substantial, despite his untimely death.

In Part A, Louisiana is used as a case study of Lincoln's policy in the South. His response to pressures and his continuing willingness to change his beliefs according to the logic of events is well illustrated by the petition from New Orleans (A, #3) and Lincoln's private letter to the Governor of Louisiana (A, #4). Lincoln's last public speech (A, #6) raises sharply the issue of whether he should accept a state which had reconstructed itself without granting its negroes the vote in accordance with Lincoln's expressed desires. This same speech also indicates the degree to which social if not political equality had been brought about by the war and in this context it is interesting to recall the feats on this score which Lincoln expressed during his debates with Douglas in 1858.(II, D, #3). The familiar sentence from the Second Inaugural (A, #5) is included to summarize Lincoln's overall attitude toward the South; an attitude which is remeniscent of the views toward slaveholders expressed at Peoria (II, C, #2) and on subsequent occasions thereafter.

Part B, by demonstrating Lincoln's active support of an amendment banning slavery everywhere in the nation, leads the student to ask whether Lincoln was obliged to extend the scope of the Emancipation Proclamation in this way or, for that matter, in any way. Lincoln himself viewed the amendment as "the fitting if not indispensable adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are playing" (B, #6). If he considered the measure to be "not indispensable," why did he support it? An answer to this question might suggest that, if the motives of the 1854 statements against slavery were based on considerations of expedience, as suggested by Hofstadter, and if the proclamation itself was occasioned by military necessary, in this instance Lincoln acted from volition. Whatever else it indicated Lincoln's support of the Thirteenth Amendment showed his willingness to do more than simply follow the logic of events.

Lincoln's speech in Baltimore (B, #3) recalls the violence which took place in Baltimore in April, 1861, and provides an occasion for inquiring, as did Lincoln himself, into the extent to which times had indeed changed. Lincoln's draft Proclamation of February 5 (B, #7) is included to indicate that Lincoln's earlier ideas about affording justice to slaveholders had not changed. The final selection (B, #8) offers early evidence that the Thirteenth Amendment did not bring equality, even at such a moment, and recalls C. Vann Woodward's comment that the North fought the war on "borrowed moral capital and that the emancipation proclamation had more effect on the war than it did on slavery--or, one might add, on discrimination against free Negroes." In this case special arrangements had to be made for the negro mourners to pay their final respects to the Great Emancipator.

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

BR-5-1071
PA-24
OE-BR

STUDENT'S MANUAL

LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION:
A MAN'S DIALOGUE WITH HIS TIMES

Lawrence Minear
New Trier High School
Winnetka, Illinois

This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

I - THE ILLINOIS IN LINCOLN. 2

  A. The Debate on the Negro Clause 4
  B. Convention Statistics. 9
  C. The Vote of the Negro Clause 10

II - FROM ILLINOIS TO THE WHITE HOUSE 15

  A. Whig Representative in Illinois, 1832-1846 . 15
  B. Whig Congressman in Washington, 1847-1849. . 19
  C. The Formation of the Republican Party, 1854-1856. 24
  D. Dred Scott, Douglas, and the Senate Campaign, 1857-1858. 31
  E. The Road to the Presidency, 1859-1861. . . . 38

III - A WAR FOR UNION--OR FREEDOM? 46

IV - TWO PROCLAMATIONS. 75

V - A NEW WAR. 87

  A. Fighting the New War 87
  B. Ending the War 96

VI - A NEW NATION 104

  A. Lincoln's Policy for the South 104
  B. Lincoln's Policy for the North 110

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING. 116

INTRODUCTION

Do times make the man, or do men make the times? This question is answered, successively, by three different men from three different viewpoints. Which answer makes the most sense to you?

Thomas Carlyle, an historian:[1]

> The history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here.

Abraham Lincoln, a politician:[2]

> I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

George Frederick Hegel, a philosopher:[3]

> [Hegel characterizes the great man as one who "actualizes his age."]

---

[1] Thomas Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship in Sidney Hook, The Hero in History (John Day Company, New York, 1934), 14.

[2] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln (Francis D. Tandy Co., New York, 1905), X, 68.

[3] George Frederick Hegel, Philosophy of Right, Translated with notes by T. M. Knox (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1942), 295.

SECTION I

THE ILLINOIS IN LINCOLN

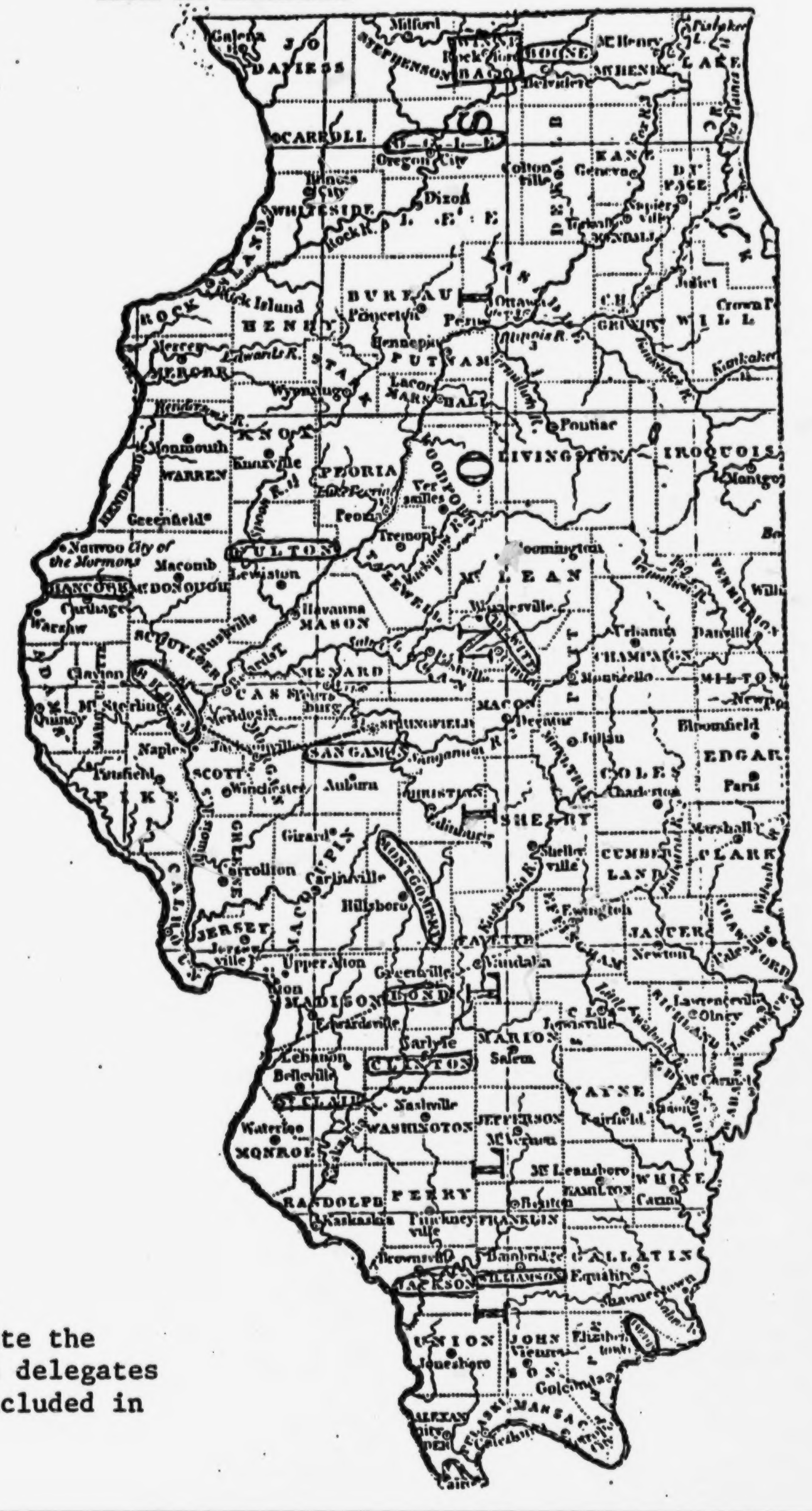
In 1847, Illinois held a convention to draw up a constitution to replace the one adopted when Illinois became a state in 1818. During the debates, Mr. Bond, an Indiana-born Whig who was a lawyer from Clinton County and the son of the state's first governor, introduced a resolution which would write into the new constitution a provision requiring the new legislature to "pass such laws as will effectually prohibit free persons of color, from immigrating to and settling in this state; and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves, or any other person, from the introduction of slaves into this state for the purpose of setting them free."[1] Mr. Bond stipulated that his resolution, called the "Negro clause," be included as a separate item on the ballot when the citizens of Illinois voted on the new constitution. It was thus possible to vote against the amendment but for the constitution, or vice versa.

Lincoln did not attend the convention, though one of his law partners did. At this time Lincoln was 38 years of age, a member of the Whig Party, and a resident of Sangamon County, having moved there from Kentucky by way of Indiana.

---

[1] Arthur Charles Cole, ed., The Constitutional Debates of 1847 (Illinois Historical Library, Springfield, 1919), 855.

MAP OF ILLINOIS[2]



Circled counties indicate the counties from which the delegates whose statements are included in sub-section A came.

---

[2] Mitchell's School Atlas (Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., Philadelphia, 1847) 14

A. The Debate on the Negro Clause

1. Mr. Church, a farmer from Winnebago County, was a Connecticut-born Whig. His views appeared in the summary record of the convention:[3]

> Would emigrants from Pennsylvania and others imbued with sentiments of humanity, come to this State, if the proposition made here in relation to blacks were to become a part of our organic law? No, sir; and they would regard such a provision as violating, not only the plain dictates of humanity, but the principles contained in the great charter of our rights--the Declaration of Independence. He desired that on the subject of slavery, the Constitution should leave it where it was left by the [Northwest] Ordinance of '87--that there shall be no slavery or involuntary servitude in the State.
>
> He wanted the constitution to be worthy of a free State--and to render it so, he would not have it, in the remotest degree, nor by any possible construction, sanction slavery, or oppress the colored race.

2. The delegate from Ogle County was Mr. Pinckney. Born in New York, Mr. Pinckney was a Whig, a minister, and a professor:[4]

> [S]ome of our late laws[5] touching the treatment of negroes are a disgrace to our State; they would be a disgrace to any people claiming to be free, enlightened and humane. . . .
>
> Do not misunderstand me. . . . [I strongly disapprove

---

[3] Arthur Charles Cole, ed., The Constitutional Debates, 204-205.

[4] Ibid., 205-207.

[5] The Illinois "Black Laws" to which he referred were passed once the state was safely admitted to the Union with a constitution forbidding slavery as required by the Northwest Ordinance. A law of 1819 forbad the residence in the state by a Negro or mulatto "unless he shall first produce a certificate of his freedom." An 1820 statute forbad persons of one fourth or more Negro blood from testifying against whites. An 1829 law forbad intermarriage and specified that Negroes without certificates of freedom were to be considered runaway slaves and jailed.

> of] the 'under ground railroad'[6] . . .
>
> I am not for passing laws to give [negroes] the right of suffrage. . . . I am in favor of removing them not only from this State, but from all the States, that they may in some other place enjoy human rights and privileges, in truth as well as in name; but I desire it not to be done by violence. I therefore concur with the gentlemen [who have spoken before me] in giving the Colonization Society[7] great praise; it deserves it; it has my best wishes and my warm support.

3. Williamson County's delegate, a lawyer named Allen, was a Tennessee-born Democrat who favored the Negro clause:[8]

> [All Negroes were] all idle and lazy and the part of the State that he came from was overrun with them. It had been the custom for some time for the people of Kentucky, Alabama and other states to bring their old and worn out negroes, and those whom they emancipated, into this State and into his section of country, and the people desired to prevent this, and to get rid of those already there.

4. Another lawyer, Mr. Davis, a Whig from Montgomery County who had been born in Kentucky, said:[9]

> When, sir, I get up here and advocate that negroes are entitled to all the privileges of citizenship--social and political--I hope the tongue which now speaks may cleave to the roof of my mouth. There is a barrier between the two races which it is vain to attempt to destroy, [and which justifies refraining from] . . . admitting negroes to the enjoyment of our social and political rights. . . .
>
> These gentlemen [abolitionists] come here and upbraid us as the friends and advocates of slavery and the unfeeling and tyrannical oppressors of the poor degraded negro.

---

[6] Chicago was a depot on the Underground Railway.

[7] The Colonization Society had been founded in the South in 1819 to relocate free Negroes in Latin America or Africa; it found white supporters in the North as well.

[8] Arthur Charles Cole, ed., The Constitutional Debates, 208.

[9] Ibid., 212.

> We are no such thing. We are men who have come here from southern and slaveholding states, we are men who have seen the evils of a negro population, we came here to escape them, and we wish to prevent the increase within this state of that class of population more vicious and more degraded than even slaves--free negroes.
>
> It came with ill grace from the gentlemen from the north, to charge those at the south [of Illinois] with being oppressors of the negro. Where did they come from, who were their ancestors? They, sir, are the sons of New England and of New York. They are the descendents of those men, who, when their states adopted the scale of years for the emancipation of the slaves within their limits, carried off their negroes to the southern market and sold them for cash, and returned to invest the price of human souls, directed by law to be emancipated at a certain time, in land, in cattle and other property. These charges come from men who have become heirs to property purchased with the price of human blood and immortal souls! How can they then charge us with being the oppressors of negroes, when we only ask that we may be allowed to keep them from our midst, to be rid of their evils and their theiving, while they are enjoying the proceeds of negroes sold by their ancestors, the price of human blood and degradation.

5. Mr. Brockman, a Kentucky-born Democrat, was a physician from Brown County. He told the delegates that[10]

> [H]e had never heard before that negroes were citizens under the constitution of the United States, and entitled to all the rights and immunities of citizens. Would gentlemen like to see their posterity sitting in a legislative assembly with a mixed delegation, as was the case in other places? We must either admit these negroes as citizens or exclude them. He would vote for the exclusion forever.

6. Mr. Singleton, a Whig lawyer from Brown County, previously of Virginia, was of the mind that[11]

> gentlemen should not consider the effect which the incorporation of a principle in the constitution was to have upon any particular portion of the State. The only enquiry should be, was it a correct principle? Was it calculated to advance the interests--to preserve the peace and quietude

---

[10] Ibid., 220.

[11] Ibid., 223-226.

> of the State? These were proper inquiries. But if there was to be a system of log-rolling, if a principle was to be adopted because it was desired by any one portion of the State as an offset for some advantage to be granted to, or gained by another portion, then he thought it would be better to adjourn and go home. No good could be accomplished by acting upon such a system as that. He would vote for what he considered to be right, no matter whether his constituents coincided in opinion with him or not. If he believed that a principle was right, he would not stop to inquire whether it was so considered by the people at large. If he was convinced of its correctness it was all that was required to secure his vote. His own feelings had always been upon the side of slavery. He came from a slave State. He had lost none of his sympathies for slave-holders and slaves. He had a deep sympathy for slaves, for he knew that the conduct of those men in his State and in others, who pretended to be endeavoring to better the condition of slaves, instead of bettering their condition, was involving them in deeper degradation. . . . There was no question which had disturbed, and which would in future disturb and agitate this country so much as this question of slavery. He feared it was to be the power which was to break the cord which had bound us together as a nation. . . .
>
> Now, if there are men in Illinois who prefer the society of negroes, if there are men so extraordinarily anxious to associate with negroes, let them accompany their favorites to some locality where their presence may not be objectionable. But in this State, there are men who prefer the society of white men, and who have come here to get rid of an intolerable nuisance. The distinction which God has made between the races can never be abolished. Sir, I do hope that the resolution will pass.

7. Hancock County was represented by a farmer named Mr. Geddes, a Whig of Pennsylvania origins, who favored the Resolution:[12]

> He felt deeply for the condition of the unfortunate negro. He regarded slavery as a moral evil, but he did not believe that it could be abolished in the United States without creating ten-fold greater evil.

8. Mr. Lemon, an Ohio born farmer, was a Whig delegate from Dewitt County:[13]

> [H]e did not believe they were altogether human beings.

---

[12] Ibid., 227.
[13] Ibid., 228.

> If any gentleman thought they were . . . let him go and examine their nose; (roars of laughter) then look at their lips. Why, their sculls [sic] were three inches thicker than white people's.

9. From Boone County came Mr. Whitney, a New York-born Whig and a practicing physician.[14]

> We [of Northern Illinois] hold it to be the right, the duty of the citizens of every state, on all occasions and under all circumstances, by all reasonable and just means, to oppose the extension and perpetuity of slavery and its attendant evils; and the duty of every citizen of this boasted land of freedom, to oppose the existence of slavery in all the territories under the jurisdiction of the general government, and the further acquisition of slave territory, and to employ all constitutional means for confining slavery and slave laws, with all their attendant *blessings* and *curses* to the States in which slavery now exists. . . .
>
> [The Negro Clause] is wrong in principle; it is in violence of truth, justice and humanity, and I am opposed to its going forth to the world in any form. . . . I would doom my *hand* to the *flames* before it should bear to the polls a *vote* for a constitution embracing the *principles* contained in the section now under consideration.
>
> And it should not be thought strange that a few of the members of this convention, who were raised in States that have long since wiped the foul blot of slavery from their constitutions, and from their statute books all laws that oppress the colored race, should express, by their votes, their abhorrence of the *base* proposition on which we are now called to deliberate. Nor should honorable gentlemen be surprised to find that some of us who have been, from our infancy, accustomed to hear the 4th of July break from valley, from hill side, and mountain top, with
>
> "My native country, *thee*,
> Sweet land of liberty!
> Of thee I sing,
> Land where my fathers died,
> Land of the Pilgrim's pride,
> From every mountain side
> Let *freedom* *ring*,"

---

[14] *Ibid.*, 857-860.

> should by our votes, on this question declare our eternal opposition to injustice and oppression. Nor should they be surprised that [a] few of us, who in childhood were pointed to that proud *era* when the heroes of '76 flung to the breeze the standard sheet and the bird of Jove soared from her tempest rocked eyrie on the mountain pine and perched upon its ample folds that we who have been taught, and believe, the doctrine proclaimed by the Continental Congress *in a voice that shook the political universe*, "That all mankind are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," *dare*, amid the whirlwind of slavery that is this hour raging through this convention, record our votes against the inhuman principles of the section before us, let them be presented when, and in whatever form, they may.
>
> I thank God that I am this day well enough to be in my seat; and I thank Him for the opportunity I have, standing in the Capitol, amidst the assembled wisdom of the State--the free representative of a free constituency, to declare of this section, by my vote, "out damned spot, out I say."

10. The Whig spokesman for Hardin County, Indiana-born Mr. McCallen, felt that[15]

> the people of the south [of Illinois] would not suffer the evils and vices attendant on a negro population any longer. . . . [Unless the new constitution] permitted adequate protection to the south from being overrun by these swarms of free negroes from every state in the Union, that the people of the south would take the matter into their own hands, and commence a war of extermination.

B. Convention Statistics

The delegates whose statements appear in Part A are representative of the men who attended the convention. The following statistics present a clear picture of the background of the delegates:[16]

---

[15] *Ibid*., 860.

Birthplace of Delegates

Kentucky	28
New York	24
Virginia	16
Tennessee	13
Pennsylvania	12
North Carolina	9
Massachusetts	8
Ohio	7
Illinois	7
Vermont	7
Maryland	6
Connecticut	4
New Hampshire	4
Scotland	3
Indiana	2
Maine	2
New Jersey	2
South Carolina	2
Delaware	1
Georgia	1
Rhode Island	1
Ireland	1
Scotland	1
	162

Profession of Delegates

Farmers	76
Lawyers	54
Physicians	12
Merchants	9
Mechanics	4
Circuit Clerks	3
Engineers	1
Miller	1
Minister	1
Professor	1
	162

Political Affiliation of Delegates

Democrats	91
Whigs	71
	162

Political Divisions and Population - Illinois 1847

Number of counties: 100
Total Population: 700,000
Negro Population: Approx. 5,000

C. The Vote on the Negro Clause

By a vote of 70 to 56, the delegates decided to put the Negro clause on the ballot to be voted on by the people of the state. At the same time, by a vote of 79 to 33, the convention adopted a provision which prevented negroes from holding public office and which barred inter-racial marriage within the state.

The following table indicates the sentiments of Illinois voters both on the Negro clause and on the new constitution as a whole:[17]

---

[16] *Ibid.*, appendix, following 1019.

Illinois Voting by Counties, 1847

County	Delegates Birthplace - Party	Votes on Constitution Total	% For	% Against	Votes on Negro Clause Total	% For	% Against
		76488	79	21	71558	70	30
Adams	Ky/Whig, Ky/Dem., NC/Dem., NH/Dem.	2329	72	28	2144	65	35
Alexander	Ky/Dem.	122	76	24	121	98	2
Bond	Pa/Dem.	666	90	10	629	88	12
Boone	SC/Whig, NY/Whig	867	72	28	788	6	94
Brown	Ky/Dem., Va/Whig	688	50	50	652	80	20
Bureau	Pa/Whig	847	75	25	806	48	52
Calhoun	Pa/Dem.	185	89	11	170	97	3
Carroll	Va/Dem.	474	76	24	449	66	34
Cass	Maine/Whig	667	95	5	650	83	17
Champaign	Ky/Dem.	214	69	31	214	86	14
Christian	Mass/Dem.	302	82	18	296	95	5
Clark	Va/Dem., Ohio/Whig, Mass./Dem.	807	93	7	633	87	13
Clay	Ky/Dem.	367	81	19	315	89	11
Clinton	Ind./Whig	622	73	27	606	73	27
Coles	Ky/Whig, Va/Dem.	997	91	9	971	95	5
Cook	Ct/Dem., Ill/Dem., Scotland/Dem., Vt/Dem., NY/Dem.	2332	53	47	1912	23	77
Crawford	Vt/Dem., Va/Dem.	532	82	18	527	2	98
Cumberland	--	277	92	8	268	98	2
DeKalb	NY/Dem.	533	59	41	520	24	76
De Witt	Ohio/Whig	517	71	28	481	80	20
Du Page	NY/Dem., NH/Dem.	836	43	57	787	16	84
Edgar	Va/Whig, Tenn/Dem.	971	93	7	911	95	5
Edwards	Ohio/Whig	282	57	43	272	85	15
Effingham	NY/Dem.	299	69	31	292	75	25
Fayette	Ky/Whig, Md/Dem.	734	83	17	724	81	19

---

[17] Ibid., appendix, following 1019.

County	Delegates Birthplace - Party	Votes on Constitution Total	% For	% Against	Votes on Negro Clause Total	% For	% Against
Franklin	Tenn/Dem.	524	82	18	487	96	4
Fulton	Vt/Dem., Pa/Dem., Ky/Dem., Pa/Dem.	2527	90	10	2349	80	20
Gallatin	Ill/Dem., Pa/Dem.	414	90	10	406	93	7
Greene	Vt/Dem., Tenn/Dem., Ky/Whig	1306	97	3	1238	93	7
Grundy	--	212	86	14	208	69	31
Hamilton	Tenn/Dem.	531	95	5	526	73	27
Hancock	NJ/Dem., Pa/Whig, Mass/Dem., Pa/Whig, Del/Dem.	1442	80	20	1351	81	19
Hardin	Ind/Whig	225	89	11	224	1	99
Henderson	Tenn/Whig	486	81	19	452	74	26
Henry	Va/Whig	301	78	22	303	52	48
Highland	Ky/Dem.	185	79	21	174	76	24
Iroquois	--	363	72	28	329	64	36
Jackson	SC/Dem.	381	93	7	376	82	18
Jasper	--	217	88	12	211	83	17
Jefferson	Tenn/Dem., Ga/Dem., Va/Dem.	759	92	8	740	94	6
Jersey	Ny/Whig	675	78	22	645	71	29
Jo Daviess	Pa/Dem., Ohio/Whig, NY/Dem.	1556	93	7	1457	72	28
Johnson	NC/Dem.	288	80	20	287	98	2
Kane	Mass/Whig, NY/Whig, NY/Dem.	1456	76	24	1350	29	71
Kendall	NY/Whig	613	76	24	590	36	64
Knox	Vt/Dem.,NY/Whig	1171	95	5	1065	56	44
Lake	NH/Dem.,Ct/Whig	1130	62	38	1079	15	85
La Salle	Ohio/Dem.,NY/Dem., Ohio/Dem.	1626	70	30	1506	42	58
Lawrence	Va/Whig	533	97	3	518	85	15
Lee	Tenn/Dem.	494	77	23	463	40	60
Livingston	--	96	74	26	101	88	12
Logan	Ohio/Whig	519	96	4	499	94	6
McDonough	Ky/Dem.,Tenn/Whig	625	87	13	600	93	7
McHenry	NY/Whig, Mass/Whig	1461	54	46	1401	25	75
McLean	Md/Whig, Ky/Whig	1016	80	20	925	78	22

	Delegates	Votes on Constitution			Votes on Negro Clause		
County	Birthplace - Party	Total	% For	% Against	Total	% For	% Against
Macon	Md/Whig	394	85	15	388	95	5
Macoupin	NC/Whig	1074	82	18	1037	82	18
Madison	Vt/Whig, Scotland/ Dem., Ky/Whig, NC/Dem.	1878	58	42	1767	71	29
Marion	Ky/Dem.	676	96	4	664	95	5
Marshall	NC/Whig	420	84	16	364	72	28
Mason	Ky/Whig	514	79	21	490	89	11
Massac	Va/Dem.	312	94	6	329	84	16
Menard	Ky/Whig	638	84	16	580	86	14
Mercer	Pa/Dem.	559	97	3	516	66	34
Monroe	Md/Dem., Ill/Dem.	805	29	71	655	98	2
Montgomery	Ky/Whig, NC/Dem.	816	95	5	777	88	12
Morgan	Ky/Whig, NC/Dem., Ky/Dem., NY/Whig	1488	90	10	1394	84	16
Moultrie	--	284	94	6	250	93	7
Ogle	NY/Whig	770	88	12	740	57	43
Peoria	Mass/Dem., Mass/ Whig, Mass/Dem.	1435	77	23	1264	67	33
Perry	Ky/Whig	517	81	19	516	90	10
Piatt	--	139	97	3	133	91	9
Pike	Ireland/Whig, NY/Dem., Ohio/Dem., Vt/Dem.	2208	77	23	2151	85	15
Pope	Scotland/Whig	311	81	19	301	86	14
Pulaski	--	137	94	6	150	87	13
Putnam	Maine/Whig	499	60	40	485	47	53
Randolph	NY/Dem., Va/Whig	1087	64	36	1023	77	23
Richland	Ill/Dem.	362	96	4	360	93	7
Rock Island	Vt/Whig	679	94	6	626	72	28
St. Clair	Ky/Whig, NC/Dem., Germany/Dem., Ill/Dem.	2541	63	37	2158	95	5
Saline	--	373	83	17	387	100	0
Sangamon	Ill/Whig, Va/Whig, Ky/Whig, Ky/Whig	2017	90	10	1901	78	22
Schuyler	Ky/Dem., Va/Whig	1009	93	7	956	93	7
Scott	NY/Whig, NH/Whig	770	94	6	710	87	13
Shelby	Md/Dem., Ky/Whig	708	90	10	695	97	3

	Delegates	Votes on Constitution			Votes on Negro Clause		
County	Birthplace - Party	Total	% For	% Against	Total	% For	% Against
Stark	---	317	74	26	283	52	48
Stephenson	NY/Dem.,NY/Dem.	752	61	39	693	48	52
Tazewell	RI/Whig, NY/Whig	1117	91	9	1029	83	17
Union	Ky/Dem.	578	96	4	575	83	17
Vermilion	Tenn/Whig, Va/Whig	976	92	8	927	82	18
Wabash	Md/Whig	372	99	1	357	91	9
Warren	Ct/Whig	765	93	7	698	70	30
Washington	Tenn/Dem.,NC/Dem.	639	87	13	552	85	15
Wayne	Tenn/Dem.	581	58	42	547	69	31
White	Va/Whig, Tenn/Dem.	639	80	20	632	97	3
Whiteside	NJ/Whig	582	83	17	536	48	52
Will	NY/Dem., Pa/Dem., Vt/Whig	1220	89	11	1146	42	58
Williamson	Tenn/Dem.,Ill/Whig	550	82	18	544	91	9
Winnebago	NY/Whig, Ct/Whig	961	76	24	885	19	81
Woodford	Pa/Dem.	420	76	24	389	84	16

Note: Ten counties sent no delegates. They were not unrepresented, however, since the elections for delegates were not held according to county lines. Thus one delegate sometimes represented more than a single county.

SECTION II

FROM ILLINOIS TO THE WHITE HOUSE

In 1832 Lincoln made his political debut running in Sangamon County for the Illinois House of Representatives. He lost. In 1860 he won the office of President of the United States. The documents in this section relate to Lincoln's life in the three intervening decades.

As you read each selection, try to establish the relationship between Lincoln's politics and his principles. Are Lincoln's politics influenced by his beliefs about negroes, or are those beliefs about negroes shaped by his political activity? In his journey to the White House, is Lincoln guided by certain fixed principles, or has he compromised some of them in his quest for higher and higher political office?

A. Whig Representative in Illinois, 1832 - 1846

1. Lincoln sketched his early life in a brief summary which he drew up in 1858:[1]

> Born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky.
> Education defective.
> Profession, a lawyer.
> Have been a captain of volunteers in Black Hawk war.
> Postmaster at a very small office.
> Four times a member of the Illinois legislature, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.

---

[1] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, II, 368.

2. In 1832, at the age of 23, Lincoln returned from the war against the Black Hawk Indians just in time for a few weeks of campaigning for the Sangamon County seat in the Illinois House of Representatives. He ran as a Whig supporter of Henry Clay against the Democratic supporters of President Jackson. Following are excerpts from his campaign literature and speeches:[2]

> FELLOW-CITIZENS: Having become a candidate for the honorable office of one of your Representatives in the next General Assembly of this State, in accordance with an established custom and the principles of true Republicanism, it becomes my duty to make known to you, the people whom I propose to represent, my sentiments. . . .
>
> I am in favor of a national bank; I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and of a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. . . .
>
> With regard to existing laws, some alterations are thought to be necessary. Many respectable men have suggested that our estray laws, the law respecting the issuing of executions, the road law, and some others, are deficient in their present form, and require alterations. But, considering the great probability that the framers of those laws were wiser than myself, I should prefer not meddling with them, unless they were first attacked by others; in which case I should feel it both a privilege and a duty to take that stand which, in my view, might tend most to the advancement of justice. . . .
>
> [U]pon the subjects of which I have treated, I have spoken as I have thought. I may be wrong in regard to any or all of them; but, holding it a sound maxim that it is better only sometimes to be right than at all times to be wrong, so soon as I discover my opinions to be erroneous, I shall be ready to renounce them.
>
> Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young, and unknown to many of you. I was born, and have ever remained, in the most humble walks of life. I

---

[2] Ibid., I, 1, 7-9.

> have no wealthy or popular relations or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the country; and, if elected, they will have conferred a favor upon me for which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But, if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined.
>
> Your friend and fellow-citizen,
>
> A. LINCOLN

3. Lincoln lost the election of 1832 but won in 1834 and again in 1836, 1838, and 1840. His four terms in the Illinois House of Representatives occasioned only one action of note with regard to negroes. In 1837, in response to the urging of several states, northern and southern, the Illinois legislature passed a resolution deploring the increase of abolitionist ideas throughout the nation and affirming "that the right of property in slaves, is sacred to the slave-holding states by the Federal Constitution" and that neither slave-holders in Illinois nor in the District of Columbia could "be deprived of that right without their consent." At this session the major legislative goal of the representatives from Sangamon county had been locating the new state capitol in their county seat, Springfield. Six weeks after the Legislature had approved these resolutions on slavery, Springfield having been approved as the site for the new state capitol, Lincoln and a colleague made the following protest as recorded in the offical journal:[3]

March 3, 1837

The following protest was presented to the House, which was read and ordered to be spread on the journals, to wit:

---

[3] Ibid., 51-52. [Footnotes omitted.]

> "Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.
>
> They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils.
>
> They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.
>
> They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District.
>
> The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest."
>
> DAN STONE,
> A. LINCOLN,
> Representatives from the county of Sangamon.

4. In 1841 Lincoln and a friend, Joshua Speed, took a trip which he described in a letter dated September 27, 1841:[4]

> MISS MARY SPEED, Louisville, Ky.
>
> My Friend: . . . We got on board the steamboat Lebanon in the locks of the canal [at Springfield], about twelve o'clock M. of the day we left, and reached St. Louis the next Monday at 8 P.M. Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sand-bars be thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky, and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this was fastened to the

---

[4] *Ibid*., 177-179.

> main chain by a shorter one, at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One whose offense for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that he renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while he permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable.

B. Whig Congressman in Washington, 1847-1849

In 1846 Lincoln was elected to the United States House of Representatives as a Whig. His term coincided with the Mexican War, a war which many Whigs opposed as a Southern plot to add more slave territory to the union. Lincoln himself was critical of the war on the grounds that it had been begun by President Polk without congressional approval and that it had been provoked by the United States rather than Mexico.

The aftermath of the war was a violent debate embroiling both Congress and the country at large over the question of whether slavery should be allowed in the territory acquired from Mexico. Even before the war was over, the issue had been precipitated when Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced an amendment to an appropriation bill prohibiting the introduction of slavery in any of the territories which might be acquired. The Wilmot Proviso passed the House, in which representatives from free states predominated, but it was defeated in the Senate. Thereafter, in the House of Representatives the Proviso was added to all bills which sought to organize the newly-won territories, and for more than three years the two houses of congress deadlocked over this issue, preventing any action from being taken.

Looking back on these years, Lincoln said, "The Wilmot proviso, or the principle of it, was constantly coming up in some shape or other, and I think I may venture to say I voted for it at least forty times during the short time I was there."[5] Tempers became so inflamed that in 1848 a new political party was organized in support of the Wilmot Proviso principle. Known as the Free Soil Party, it nominated ex-President Martin Van Buren to contest the presidential election. The two major parties side-stepped the Wilmot Proviso issue, ignoring it in their platforms. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor, a hero of the Mexican War and a Louisiana slave-holder. The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan.

The documents which follow relate to this period in Lincoln's public life.

1. The platform of the Free Soil Party read, in part, as follows:[6]

> _Whereas_, We have assembled in convention as a union of free men, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave

---

[5] _Ibid_., II, 200.

[6] Thomas Hudson McKee, _The National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties, 1789-1901_ (Friedenwald Company, Baltimore, 1901), 66-69.

power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and

Whereas, [the two major parties have nominated] candidates neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty and self-respect. . . .

1. Resolved, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. Resolved, That slavery in the several states of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon the state laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any state. . . .

5. Resolved, That in the judgment of this convention Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy. . . .

6. Resolved, That is the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the government possesses constitutional power to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence. . . .

8. Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave states and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is: No more slave states and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world. . . .

10. Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight forever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

2. Congressman Lincoln spoke in various states during the presidential election campaign. None of those speeches has been preserved, but the following account of one given at Worcester,

Massachusetts, on September 12, 1848, appeared in a Boston newspaper:[7]

> Mr. Kellogg then introduced to the meeting the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, Whig member of Congress from Illinois. . . .
>
> Mr. Lincoln has a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind, and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear and cool, and very eloquent manner, for an hour and a half, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations--only interrupted by warm and frequent applause. He began by expressing a real feeling of modesty in addressing an audience "this side of the mountains," a part of the country where, in the opinion of the people of his section, everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise. But he had devoted his attention to the question of the coming presidential election, and was not unwilling to exchange with all whom he might the ideas to which he had arrived. . . .
>
> [As to slavery in the States, he said] that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except perhaps that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slavery was an evil, but that we were not responsible for it and cannot affect it in states of this Union where we do not live. But, the question of the extension of slavery to new territories of this country, is a part of our responsibility and care, and is under our control. In opposition to this Mr. L. believed that the self-named "Free Soil" party, was far behind the Whigs. Both parties opposed the extension. As he understood it the new party had no principle except this opposition. If their platform held any other, it was in such a general way that it was like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee pedlar offered for sale, "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy." They therefore had taken a position calculated to break down their single important declared object. They were working for the election of either General Cass or General Taylor. The speaker then went on to show, clearly and eloquently, the danger of extension of slavery, likely to result from the election of General Cass. To unite with those [the Democrats] who annexed the new territory to prevent the extension of slavery in that territory seemed to him to be in the highest degree absurd and ridiculous. Suppose these gentlemen succeed in electing Mr. Van Buren, they had no specific means to prevent the extension of slavery to New Mexico and California, and General Taylor, he

---

[7] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, II, 89-95.

> confidently believed, would not encourage it, and would not prohibit its restriction. But if General Cass was elected, he felt certain that the plans of farther extension of territory would be encouraged, and those of the extension of slavery would meet no check. The "Free Soil" men in claiming that name indirectly attempt a deception, by implying that Whigs were *not* Free Soil men. In declaring that they would "do their duty and leave the consequences to God," merely gave an excuse for taking a course they were not able to maintain by a fair and full argument. To make this declaration did not show what their duty was. If it did we should have no use for judgment, we might as well be made without intellect, and when divine or human law does not clearly point out what *is* our duty, we have no means of finding out what it is by using our most intelligent judgment of the consequences. If there were divine law, or human law for voting for Martin Van Buren, or if a fair examination of the consequences and first reasoning would show that voting for him would bring about the ends they pretended to wish--then he would give up the argument. But since there was no fixed law on the subject, and since the whole probable result of their action would be an assistance in electing General Cass, he must say that they were behind the Whigs in their advocacy of the freedom of the soil. . . .
>
> Mr. Lincoln went on to say that . . . we had a candidate whose personal character and principles he had already described, whom he could not eulogize if he would. General Taylor had been constantly, perseveringly, quietly standing up, *doing his duty*, and asking no praise or reward for it. He was and must be just the man to whom the interests, principles and prosperity of the country might be safely intrusted. . . .

3. Following is a synopsis of the results of the election of 1848:[8]

	Popular Vote	Popular Vote In Illinois	Electoral Vote
Taylor (Whig)	1,360,101	53,047	163
Cass (Democrat)	1,220,544	56,300	127
Van Buren (Free Soil)	291,263	15,775	0

4. In March, 1849, Lincoln introduced a resolution in the House

---

[8] Based on statistics in Thomas Hudson McKee, *The National Convention*, 71-72.

which provided for the gradual emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia with the consent of their masters, and also for stepped up enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law in the District. Lincoln took no part in the discussion on his resolution and soon withdrew it:[9]

> [F]inding that I was abandoned by my former backers and having little personal influence, I dropped the matter knowing that it was useless to prosecute the business at that time.

C. The Formation of the Republican Party, 1854-1856

During the years 1849 to 1854, Lincoln was not active politically. Instead, he cultivated his law practice, spending six months of each year in Springfield, the other six "riding circuit" through central Illinois. Lincoln's time was spent on tax cases, wills, pensions, and an occasional murder. Once he defended a Kentucky slaveholder accused of violating the Illinois law against importing slaves into the state. During these years, both Lincoln and the nation seemed on the surface to be unconcerned with the issue of slavery. The fires of agitation fanned by the Mexican War and the Wilmot Proviso had been banked by the Compromise of 1850.

Then, in 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois proposed a bill to organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska according to the principle of popular sovereignty, it being left to the people of each territory to decide whether or not to permit slavery within its borders. These territories formed a part of the area in which slavery had been forever prohibited under the terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In effect, Douglas thus proposed a repeal of the earlier compromise.

---

[9] Roy P. Basler, ed., Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1953), II, 22.

The bill became a law in 1854. No sooner had it passed than pro-slavery and anti-slavery settlers raced for Kansas, each group hopeful of bringing that state into the union on its side. "Bloody Kansas" ensued. Out of the clamor arose a new political party flatly opposed to the extension of slavery into any of the territories under any circumstances. To the banner of this new Republican Party flocked ex-Free Soilers, many former Whigs, and some anti-slavery Democrats. So rapid was its growth that by 1856, when it nominated John C. Fremont for the presidency, it had replaced the Whigs as one of the two major parties in the nation.

1. Lincoln described his reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Act in an autobiographical sketch written in 1860 in which he referred to himself as "he."[10]

> Upon his return from Congress he went to the practice of the law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1852 he was upon the Scott electoral ticket, and did something in the way of canvassing, but owing to the hopelessness of the cause in Illinois he did less than in previous presidential canvasses.

2. Lincoln elaborated his reaction in greater detail in a speech

---

[10] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VI, 37.

in Peoria, Illinois on May 30, 1854:[11]

> This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal, for the spread of slavery I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.
>
> Before proceeding let me say that I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. . . . If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals. My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot then make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.
>
> When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I

---

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 205-208, 226-228, 243.

acknowledge them--not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives[12] which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave-trade by law.

But one great argument in support of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is still to come. That argument is "the sacred right of self-government." It seems our distinguished senator has found great difficulty in getting his antagonists, even in the Senate, to meet him fairly on this argument. . . . I trust I understand and truly estimate the right of self-government. My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principle to communities of men as well as individuals. . . .

The doctrine of self-government is right,--absolutely and eternally right,--but it has no just application as here attempted. Or perhaps I should rather say that whether it has such application depends upon whether a negro is not or is a man. If he is not a man, in that case he who is a man may as a matter of self-government do just what he pleases with him.

But if the negro is a man, is it not to that extent a total destruction of self-government to say that he too shall not govern himself. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government--that is despotism. If the negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that "all men are created equal," and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another.

Judge Douglas frequently, with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying: "The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!"

---

[12] Lincoln here referred to the Fugitive Slave Law, passed as part of the Compromise of 1850. This strict law which provided for the return of escaped slaves who were found in Northern States was opposed by many in the North, particularly the abolitionists.

Well! I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that, according to our ancient faith, the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of master and slave is . . . a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only, is self-government.

Let it not be said I am contending for the establishment of political and social equality between the whites and blacks. I have already said the contrary. I am not combating the argument of necessity, arising from the fact that the blacks are already among us; but I am combating what is set up as moral argument for allowing them to be taken where they have never yet been--arguing against the extension of a bad thing, which, where it already exists, we must of necessity manage as we best can. . . .

Some men, mostly Whigs, who condemn the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, nevertheless hesitate to go for its restoration, lest they be thrown in company with the Abolitionists. Will they allow me, as an old Whig, to tell them, good-humoredly, that I think this is very silly? Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong. Stand with the Abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise, and stand against him when he attempts to repeal the fugitive slave law. In the latter case you stand with the Southern disunionist. What of that? you are still right. In both cases you are right. In both cases you expose the dangerous extremes. In both you stand on middle ground, and hold the ship level and steady. In both you are national, and nothing less than national. This is the good old Whig ground. To desert such ground because of any company, is to be less than a Whig--less than a man--less than an American.

3. Amid the heated discussions on the Kansas-Nebraska question, Lincoln received a letter from his Kentucky friend Joshua Speed, who suspected that by now the two childhood friends might have differing political views. In a letter dated August 24, 1855, Lincoln answered Speed's question, "Where do you stand in politics now?", and recalled the trip they had taken together in 1841:[13]

> [Y]ou say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave, especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I . . . acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the Constitution in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lips and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continued torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union. I do oppose the extension of slavery because my judgment and feeling so prompt me, and I am under no obligations to the contrary. If for this you and I must differ, differ we must. . . . I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. When I was at Washington, I voted for the Wilmot Proviso as good as forty times; and I never heard of any one attempting to unwhig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery.

4. In 1856 Lincoln campaigned actively for the Republican

---

[13] *Ibid.*, 281-282, 287.

Presidential candidate, John C. Fremont, against the Democratic nominee, James Buchanan, who pledged "non-interference by Congress with slavery in the states and territories or in the District of Columbia." Lincoln delivered the following speech at Kalamazoo, Michigan on August 27:[14]

> [Lincoln claims that the question of whether slavery should be allowed to spread into the new territories or not is a singularly great question, though the opponents of the Republicans would not agree. He notes that the Nebraska bill makes it possible for slavery to spread into the territories, and argues that this fact should be of great interest to Northerners as there is a need to keep the territories "for the homes of free white people." He refers to an article in the Richmond Enquirer which justified the spread of slavery and claimed that slaves are better off than Northern laborers. Lincoln attempts to refute both arguments and argues that the question can only be avoided by either letting slavery and Buchanan triumph or joining the Republicans in attempting to "triumph over the black demon."]

5. When the votes had been counted, the Republican party swept all the major state offices in Illinois. Nationally, it fared as follows:[15]

Analysis by Votes

	Popular Vote		Electoral Vote
	National	Illinois	
Buchanan (Democratic)	1,838,169	105,348	174
Fremont (Republican)	1,341,264	96,189	114
Fillmore (American)	874,534	37,444	8

---

[14] Roy P. Basler, Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, II, 361-366.

[15] Thomas Hudson McKee, The National Conventions, 103-104.

Analysis by States

	Buchanan	Fremont	Fillmore
Free States	California Illinois Indiana New Jersey	Connecticut Iowa Maine Massachusetts Michigan New Hampshire New York Ohio Rhode Island Vermont Wisconsin	
Slave States	Alabama Arkansas Delaware Florida Georgia Kentucky Louisiana Mississippi Missouri North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Texas Virginia		Maryland

D. Dred Scott, Douglas, and the Senate Campaign 1857-1858

On March 6, 1857, two days after James Buchanan's inauguration as President, the Supreme Court handed down its verdict in the Dred Scott case. Scott was a slave who had travelled with his owner to Illinois and the territory of Wisconsin. After returning to Missouri, he sued in court for his freedom, eventually appealing his case to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that since Scott was not a citizen of Missouri or of the United States he had no right to sue. The Court further declared that, even had Scott been allowed to sue, his residence in a free territory had not made him a free man since this would deprive his master of property in violation of the provisions of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

The Missouri Compromise, which made the Wisconsin Territory free, had thus in this case been declared unconstitutional from the start. Even more important were the implications for the future. The Dred Scott opinion seemed to imply that slavery could not be prohibited in any of the territories belonging to the United States even if the people living in a territory wanted to prohibit slavery.

The decision inevitably became the major issue in the congressional election of 1858. Of these electoral contests, none attracted more nationwide attention than the one for the Senate seat in Illinois. This pitted the incumbent, Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas, author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and a leader of his party in the Senate, against the Republican challenger, Abraham Lincoln. United States Senators were at this time chosen in each state by vote of the state legislature. Republican candidates for the legislature ran pledged to vote for Lincoln, Democrats for Douglas, and the choice of Senator was thus determined by whose supporters won the most seats in the election for legislature.

1. On June 16, 1858, Lincoln received the Republican nomination

for Senator and opened his campaign, with a speech in Chicago:[16]

> "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved--I do not expect the house to fall--but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.
>
> Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

2. Lincoln's opponent, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, launched his campaign with a speech in Chicago on July 9:[17]

> [I]n my opinion this government of ours is founded on the white basis. It was made by the white man, for the benefit of the white man, to be administered by white men, in such manner as they should determine. It is also true that a negro, an Indian, or any other man of an inferior race to a white man, should be permitted to enjoy and humanity requires that he should have all the rights, privileges and immunities which he is capable of exercising consistent with the safety of society. I would give him every right and every privilege which his capacity would enable him to enjoy, consistent with the good of the society in which he lived. But you may ask me what are these rights and these privileges. My answer is that each state must decide for itself the nature and extent of these rights. Illinois has decided for itself. We have decided that the negro shall not be a slave, and we have at the same time decided that he shall not vote, or serve on juries, or enjoy political privileges. I am content with that system of policy which we have adopted for ourselves. . . .

---

[16] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, III, 2.

[17] Political Debates Between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas (The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, 1894), 19-20. A preferable reference is Paul Angle ed., Created Equal? The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858 (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958). Reference is made in that volume to the audience reaction to the debates.

> On the other hand, the state of Maine has decided that in that state a negro man may vote on an equality with the white man. The sovereign power of Maine had the right to prescribe that rule for herself. Illinois has no right to complain of Maine for conferring the right of negro suffrage, nor has Maine any right to interfere with, or complain of Illinois because she has denied negro suffrage. . . .
>
> I do not subscribe to the doctrine of my friend, Mr. Lincoln, that uniformity is either desirable or possible. I do not acknowledge that the states must all be free or must all be slave.
>
> I do not acknowledge that the negro must have civil and political rights everywhere or nowhere. . . . He goes for uniformity in our domestic institutions, for a war of sections, until one or the other shall be subdued. I go for the great principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill,--the right of the people to decide for themselves.

3. Before election day November 2, the candidates travelled a combined total of 10,000 miles by road, canal, river, and rail, speaking to groups of all sizes and descriptions. Lincoln gave 63 addresses and Douglas about twice that many at towns indicated by L and D on the Map in Section I. Lincoln challenged Douglas to 50 debates; Douglas agreed to seven. Following are excerpts from several of the debates.

The initial debate was held at Ottawa on August 21. Douglas spoke first:[18]

> We are told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision, and will not submit to it, for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship. . . . I ask you, are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? Do you desire to strike out of our state constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the state, and allow the free negroes to flow in, and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you

---

[18] *Ibid.*, 88-89.

> Do you desire to turn this beautiful state into a free negro colony, in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the state and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro. For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white man and their prosperity for ever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians and other inferior races.
>
> Mr. Lincoln, following the example and lead of all the little Abolition orators, who go around and lecture in the basements of schools and churches, reads from the Declaration of Independence, that all men were created equal, and then asks how can you deprive a negro of that equality which God and the Declaration of Independence awards to him. He and they maintain that negro equality is guaranteed by the laws of God, and that it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence. If they think so, of course they have a right to say so, and so vote. I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious belief that the negro was made his equal, and hence is his brother, but for my own part, I do not regard the negro as my equal, and positively deny that he is my brother or any kin to me whatever. . . .
>
> Now, I do not believe that the Almighty ever intended the negro to be the equal of the white man. If he did, he has been a long time demonstrating the fact.

In reply Lincoln said:[19]

> I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between

---

[19] *Ibid.*, 93.

> the two, which in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects--certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, _he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man_.

Lincoln elaborated his views on the status of the Negro at Charleston on September 18:[20]

> Ladies and Gentlemen:
>
> While I was at the hotel to-day an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and white people. . . .
>
> I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch, as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. I say upon this occasion I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied everything. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just let her alone.

---

[20] _Ibid._, 163-164.

> I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I will add to this that I have never seen to my knowledge a man, woman or child who was in favor of producing a perfect equality, social and political, between negroes and white men.

On several occasions Douglas charged Lincoln and the Republican Party with having "a different set of principles for each of these localities":[21]

> [His] principles in the north are jet black, in the centre they are in color a decent mulatto, and in lower Egypt they are almost white.

In the final debate which was held at Alton on October 15, the candidates summarized their views.[22] Lincoln claimed that Republicans looked upon slavery

> as being a moral, social and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should as far as may be, be treated as a wrong, and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at sometime, as being wrong. . . .
>
> That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles--right and wrong--throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and

---

[21] Ibid., 185.

[22] Ibid., 274-276, 280.

> will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruits of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principal.

In conclusion Douglas said:

> I assert that this government can exist as they, [the Founding Fathers] made it, divided into free and slave states, if any one state chooses to retain slavery. He [Lincoln] says that he looks forward to a time when slavery shall be abolished everywhere. I look forward to a time when each state shall be allowed to do as it pleases. If it chooses to keep slavery forever, it is not my business, but its own; if it chooses to abolish slavery, it is its own business--not mine. I care more for the great principle of self-government, the right of the people to rule, than I do for all the negroes in Christendom. I would not endanger the perpetuity of this Union. I would not blot out the great inalienable rights of the white men for all the negroes that ever existed. Hence, I say, let us maintain this government on the principles that our fathers made it, recognizing the right of each state to keep slavery as long as its people determine, or to abolish it when they please.

On November 2, the votes elected 46 Democrats to the state legislature and 41 Republicans, thus assuring Douglas's reelection to the Senate.

E. The Road to the Presidency, 1859-1861

The excerpts from the Lincoln-Douglas debates in Part D illuminate only facet of those debates. The central issue of the debates was in fact somewhat larger and more complicated than the disputations over racial equality. Douglas, as author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, favored popular sovereignty, and yet the Dred Scott decision, which he also supported, seemed to undermine his position by implying that slavery could not be prohibited in a territory. This seemed to leave it that while people in a territory could vote on the question of slavery, they could not vote slavery down. Lincoln's repeated prodding on this score produced at Freeport the answer from Douglas that even though in theory slavery could not be specifically prohibited in a territory, in fact, slaveholders would not take slaves into certain territories unless laws upholding slavery were on the books. To some, the Freeport Doctrine seemed a quibble, but it may have saved Douglas in Illinois in 1858. It irritated Southerners so much, however, that when in 1860 Douglas received the Democratic nomination for President many of them bolted the convention and nominated another candidate, splitting the Democratic Party.

The documents in this section deal with that election and the events leading up to it.

1. In 1859, Lincoln delivered speeches in Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Kansas. At Columbus, Ohio on September 16 he said:[23]

> Did you ever, five years ago, hear of anybody in the world saying that the negro had no share in the Declaration of National Independence; that it did not mean negroes at all, and when "all men" were spoken of negroes were not included?
>
> I am satisfied that five years ago that proposition was

---

[23] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, V, 186-187, 189.

> not put upon paper by any living being anywhere.
>
> I have been unable at any time to find a man in an audience who would declare that he had ever known anybody saying so five years ago. But last year there was not a "Douglas popular sovereignty" man in Illinois who did not say it. Is there one in Ohio but declares his firm belief that the Declaration of Independence did not mean negroes at all? I do not know how this is; I have not been here much; but I presume you are very much alike everywhere. Then I suppose that all now express the belief that the Declaration of Independence never did mean negroes. I call upon one of them to say that he said it five years ago.
>
> If you think that now, and did not think it then, the next thing that strikes me is to remark that there has been a change wrought in you, and a very significant change it is, being no less than changing the negro, in your estimation, from the rank of a man to that of a brute. They are taking him down, and placing him, when spoken of, among reptiles and crocodiles, as Judge Douglas himself expresses it. . . .
>
> I ask attention to the fact that in a preeminent degree these popular sovereigns are at this work: blowing out the moral lights around us; teaching that the negro is no longer a man, but a brute; that the Declaration has nothing to do with him; that he ranks with the crocodile and the reptile; that man, with body and soul, is a matter of dollars and cents. I suggest to this portion of the Ohio Republicans, or Democrats, if there be any present, the serious consideration of this fact, that there is now going on among you a steady process of debauching public opinion on this subject. With this, my friends, I bid you adieu.

2. In 1860, Lincoln travelled east and delivered a famous speech at the Cooper Union in New York City on February 27, following this speech with a series of speeches in New England in which he accented the same theme. At the Cooper Union Lincoln said:[24]

> Holding as they [the Southerners] do, that slavery is

---

[24] *Ibid.*, 326-327.

> morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.
>
> Nor can we justifiably withold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality--its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension--its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?
>
> Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored--contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong: vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care. . . .

3. In May, the Republicans held their national convention in Chicago. The platform they adopted read in part as follows:[25]

> Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations: . . .

---

[25] Thomas Hudson McKee, The National Conventions, 113-114.

> 2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,"--is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must and shall be preserved. . . .
>
> 4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; . . .
>
> 7. That the new dogma,--that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States,--is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.
>
> 8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

4. The leading contender for the Republican nomination for President was William Seward of New York, well known for his abolitionist leanings. Lincoln, a candidate from the west, received strong support from those who considered themselves to be moderates on the slavery issue. In addition there were other candidates who were, generally speaking, less adamant on the

question of slavery than either Seward or Lincoln. Nomination required 233 votes. So close was Lincoln on the third ballot that four delegates switched their vote, giving him the nomination.

One student of the convention has analyzed the vote on a geographic basis. In the following table "upper" refers to the tier of states from New England to Minnesota, and "lower" from New Jersey to Iowa, while "miscellaneous" includes California, Oregon, and the six slave states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Virginia.[26]

> [Three ballots are listed in which Lincoln gains from a minority position in the first ballot to a majority position over Seward in the third ballot, with his vote being more than doubled in all three geographic areas.]

5. In the election of 1860, Lincoln was opposed by Senator Douglas candidate of the Northern Democrats, who applauded popular sovereignty; by John Breckinridge of Kentucky, candidate of the Independent or Southern Democrats, who supported the Dred Scott decision; and by John Bell of Tennessee, whose Constitutional Union Party sought to preserve constitution and union by ignoring the slavery issue. The map which follows indicates the election results in Illinois.

> [The map of Illinois included indicates the percentage of popular vote by counties in the presidential election of 1860. It is made clear that Lincoln controlled most of the vote in each of the northern counties, while Douglas had a considerable majority in the southern counties.]

---

[26] Don E. Fehrenbacher, _Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850's_ (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1962), 158.

[27] Map drawn from Arthur Charles Cole, _The Era of the Civil War_ (Illinois Centennial Commission, Springfield, 1919), 200.

6. On the national scene the election results were as follows:[28]

STATE	POPULAR VOTE					ELECTORAL VOTE			
	Abraham Lincoln Republican	Stephen A. Douglas Democrat	John C. Brekinridge Independent Democrat	John Bell Constitutional Union	Total Vote	Abraham Lincoln of Illinois	Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois	John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky	John Bell of Tennessee
Alabama..........	...	13,651	48,831	27,825	90,307	..	..	9	..
Arkansas.........	...	5,227	28,732	20,094	54,053	..	..	4	..
California.......	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817	118,810	4	..	..	..
Connecticut......	43,692	15,522	14,641	3,291	77,146	6	..	..	..
Delaware.........	3,815	1,023	7,347	3,861	16,049	..	..	3	..
Florida..........	...	367	8,513	5,437	14,347	..	..	3	..
Georgia..........	...	11,590	51,889	42,886	106,365	..	..	10	..
Illinois.........	172,161	160,215	2,404	3,913	338,693	11	..	..	..
Indiana..........	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306	272,143	13	..	..	..
Iowa.............	70,409	55,111	1,048	1,763	128,331	4	..	..	..
Kentucky.........	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058	146,216	..	..	..	12
Louisiana........	...	7,625	22,681	20,204	50,510	..	..	6	..
Maine............	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046	97,918	8	..	..	..
Maryland.........	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760	92,502	..	..	8	..
Massachusetts....	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331	169,175	13	..	..	..
Michigan.........	88,480	65,057	305	405	154,747	6	..	..	..
Minnesota........	22,069	11,920	748	62	34,799	4	..	..	..
Mississippi......	...	3,283	40,797	25,040	69,120	..	..	7	..
Missouri.........	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372	165,518	..	9	..	..
New Hampshire....	37,519	25,881	2,112	441	65,953	5	..	..	..
New Jersey.......	58,324	62,801	...	...	121,125	4	3	..	..
New York.........	362,646	312,510	...	...	675,156	35	..	..	..
North Carolina...	...	2,701	48,339	44,990	96,030	..	..	10	..
Ohio.............	231,610	187,232	11,405	12,194	412,411	23	..	..	..
Oregon...........	5,270	3,951	3,006	183	12,410	3	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	268,030	16,765	178,871	12,776	476,442	27	..	..	..
Rhode Island.....	12,244	7,707	...	...	19,951	4	..	..	..
* South Carolina...	...	...	...	...	...	..	..	8	..
Tennessee........	...	11,350	64,709	69,274	145,333	..	..	..	12
Texas............	...	...	47,548	15,438	62,986	..	..	4	..
Vermont..........	33,808	6,849	1,969	218	42,844	5	..	..	..
Virginia.........	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681	167,223	..	..	..	15
Wisconsin........	86,110	65,021	888	161	152,180	5	..	..	..
Total.......	1,866,352	1,375,157	847,514	587,830	4,676,853	180	12	72	39

7. Between Lincoln's election in November and his inauguration in March, several compromise measures were drawn up in a last-ditch attempt to avert the secession threatened by the South.

---

[28] As drawn from Thomas Hudson McKee, The National Conventions, 118-119.

To each, Lincoln's response was the same:[29]

> [Lincoln asserts that there can be no compromise on the question of extending slavery by accepting the principle of popular sovereignty.]

SECTION III

A WAR FOR UNION--OR FREEDOM?

The election of Lincoln precipitated the crisis. On the journey from Springfield, assassination rumors caused the President elect to be spirited secretly away from Baltimore and into the nation's capitol. By the time Lincoln arrived in Washington, the states of the lower South--South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas--had all announced their secession from the Union.

Would Lincoln let the seven seceding states leave the Union in peace, or would he preserve the Union by force, if necessary? What effect would any action taken against the seceding states have on the four remaining states of the upper south--Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas--and upon the four slave-holding border states--Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri?

If it came to using force, would the ensuing struggle be a war for Union against secession, or a war for freedom against slavery, or both? Lincoln was urged by some of his supporters to abolish slavery, the mere existence of which was felt by many to be the cause of secession.

This section is concerned with the pressures from every quarter which bombarded Lincoln during his first year and a half in office. Did the force of events control Lincoln, or did he shape events in this conflict to end secession? Or was it a conflict to end slavery?

1. Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. In this time of crisis, Northerners and Southerners alike studied the Inaugural Address for clues as to the future policies of the new administration:[1]

> Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them.
>
> And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:
>
> Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.
>
> I now reiterate these sentiments; . . . the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. . . .
>
> I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its

---

[1] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VI, 169-171, 173, 175, 180, 183.

> organic law for its own termination. . . .
>
> It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary according to circumstances. . . .
>
> I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. . . .
>
> In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. . . .
>
> One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. . . .
>
> The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

2. On March 9, Secretary of State Seward sent a circular to "all the ministers of the United States" in foreign capitals around the world:[2]

> I am now instructed by the President of the United States to inform you that, having assumed the administration of the government in pursuance of an unquestioned election and of the directions of the Constitution, he . . . relies upon the exercise of the greatest possible diligence and fidelity on your part to counteract and prevent the designs of those who would invoke foreign intervention to embarrass or overthrow the republic. . . .

---

[2] Executive Documents, Second Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1861-'62 (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1862), I, 32-33.

> I transmit herewith a copy of the address pronounced by the President on taking the constitutional oath of office. It sets forth clearly the errors of the misguided partisans who are seeking to dismember the Union, the grounds on which that conduct is . . . [rejected], and also the general policy which the government will pursue with a view to the presentation of domestic peace and order, and the maintenance and preservation of the federal Union. . . .
>
> We feel free to assume that it is the general conviction of men, not only here but in all other countries, that this federal Union affords a better system than any other that could be contrived to assure the safety, the peace, the prosperity, the welfare, and the happiness of all the States of which it is composed. . . . Any advantage that any foreign nation might derive from a connexion that it might form with any dissatisfied or discontented portion, State, or section, . . . would be . . . [temporary], and would be overbalanced by the evils it would suffer from a disseverance of the whole Union, whose manifest policy it must be hereafter, as it has always been heretofore, to maintain peace, liberal commerce, and cordial amity with all other nations, and to favor the establishment of well-ordered government over the whole American continent.
>
> The President regrets that the events going on here may be productive of some possible inconvenience to the people . . . [of other nations]; but he is determined that those inconveniences shall be made as light and as transient as possible, and . . . shall be amply indemnified.

3. On March 30, the English magazine PUNCH had carried the following jingle:[3]

Though with the North we sympathize
It must not be forgotten
That with the South we've stronger ties
Which are composed of cotton.

4. Since the turn of the year, the Confederates had been seizing federal forts and arsenals across the South. President Buchanan

---

[3] Belle Becker Sideman and Lillian Friedman, eds., Europe Looks at the Civil War (The Orion Press, New York, 1960), 36-37.

had protested--with words but not with arms. Lincoln decided to try to hold the remaining military posts under federal control. On April 12, as a supply ship made its way to provision Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, the South opened fire on the fort, and the war was on.

To meet this crisis Lincoln issued a proclamation on April 15 calling for 75,000 volunteers to serve for a period of three months. A quota was assigned to each state. The response was as follows:[4]

States	Quota	Men Furnished
Maine	780	771
New Hampshire	780	779
Vermont	780	782
Massachusetts	1,500	3,736
Rhode Island	780	3,147
Connecticut	780	2,402
New York	13,280	13,906
New Jersey	3,123	3,123
Pennsylvania	12,500	20,175
Delaware	780	775
Maryland	3,123	.....
West Virginia	2,340	900
District of Columbia	.....	4,720
Ohio	10,153	12,357
Indiana	4,683	4,683
Illinois	4,683	4,820
Michigan	780	781
Wisconsin	780	817
Minnesota	780	930
Iowa	780	968
Missouri	3,123	10,591
Kentucky	3,123	.....
Kansas	.....	650
Tennessee	1,560	.....
Arkansas	780	.....
North Carolina	1,560	.....
Total	73,891	91,816

---

[4] Frederich Phisterer, Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States. Supplementary Volume: Campaigns of the Civil War (Scribners, New York, 1883), 3.

5. Four days later, on April 19, as the Massachusetts men made their way to Washington, the following incident took place in Baltimore:[5]

> [This is an account of a part of a Massachusetts regiment marching through Baltimore to meet the rest of the regiment, despite the attempts by residents--through taunts and gunfire--to prevent them from passing through.]

6. Three days after the Massachusetts troops arrived in the nation's capitol, Secretary of State Seward instructed the ambassador in Paris to relay the following message to the French government, similar notes being sent to American diplomats in England and other countries:[6]

> The condition of slavery in the several states will remain the same whether [the rebellion] shall succeed or fail.

7. In late April the following exchange of letters took place:[7]

Washington, April 23d, 1861

Hon. Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War

Sir: I desire to inform you that I know of some three hundred of reliable colored free citizens of this City, who desire to enter the service for the defence of the City.

I can be found about the Senate Chambers, as I have been employed about the premises for some years.

---

[5] Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers, Tragic Years, 1860-1865 (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1960), I, 90.

[6] Executive Documents, 198.

[7] U.S. Congress, House, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., The War of the Rebellion (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1899), III, I, 107, 133.

Yours respectfully,
Jacob Dodson,
(Coloured)

War Department
Washington, April 29, 1861

Jacob Dodson (colored),
Washington City

Sir: In reply to your letter . . . , this Department has no intention at present to call into the service of the Government any colored soldiers.

With respect, &c.,

Simon Cameron
Secretary of War

8. On the day that Cameron answered Dodson, the London Times carried the following statement:[8]

> So nearly are our interests intertwined with America that civil war in the United States means destitution in Lancashire.

9. On May 3, 1861, Lincoln called for 500,000 more troops. Most of those who responded promised to serve for a period of

---

[8] Bell Becker Sideman and Lillian Friedman, eds., Europe Looks at the Civil War, 37.

three years.[9]

States and Territories	Quota	Men Furnished
Maine	17,560	18,104
New Hampshire	9,234	8,328
Vermont	8,950	9,508
Massachusetts	34,868	32,177
Rhode Island	4,955	6,286
Connecticut	13,057	10,865
New York	109,056	120,231
New Jersey	19,152	11,523
Pennsylvania	82,825	85,100
Delaware	3,145	1,826
Maryland	15,578	9,355
West Virginia	8,497	12,757
District of Columbia	1,617	1,795
Ohio	67,365	84,116
Indiana	38,832	61,341
Illinois	47,785	81,952
Michigan	21,357	23,546
Wisconsin	21,753	25,490
Minnesota	4,809	6,937
Iowa	19,216	21,987
Missouri	31,544	25,238
Kentucky	27,237	35,095
Kansas	3,235	6,953
Nebraska Territory	.....	91
Total	611,827	700,680

6. Frederick Douglas, a Maryland slave who had escaped and become a freedman, was the influential editor of Douglass' Monthly. In the April issue he concluded from Lincoln's Inaugural Address that the president is "the most dangerous advocate of slave-hunting and slave-catching in the land." In the May issue

---

[9] Frederick Phisterer, Statistical Record, 4.

he wrote an article entitled, "How to End the War":[10]

> [Douglas makes a plea for the slaves to be freed by proclamation from the Capitol and contends that the war could be ended if slaves and freedman were called into the service to form a liberating army that would march into the South.]

11. Slaves were already seeking asylum with the Union armies in the field. Some northern generals returned them to their owners in accordance with the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. Others refused to do so. In Virginia General Butler claimed that these negroes had become "contraband of war." General Fremont, for whom Lincoln had campaigned in 1856, emancipated the slaves of rebel masters in Missouri, and General Hunter did likewise in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. Lincoln overruled Hunter and Fremont for reasons he explained in a letter dated September 22, 1861.[11]

> General Fremont's proclamation as to confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves is purely political and not within the range of military law or necessity. If a commanding general finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever, and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely

---

[10] Philip S. Foner, The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass (International Publishers, New York, 1952), III, 94-95.

[11] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VI, 358-360.

political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the general needs them, he can seize them and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases, confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. . . . I cannot assume this reckless position, nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

You speak of it [emancipation] as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary, it is itself the surrender of the government, Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States--any government of constitution and laws--wherein a general or a president may make permanent rules of property by proclamation? I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and General Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of General Fremont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. . . . [T]he very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capital. . . .

You must not understand I took my course on the proclamation because of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to General Fremont before I heard from Kentucky. . . .

Your friend, as ever, A. LINCOLN.

12. By July 4, when Congress reconvened in special session,

Lincoln had taken a number of measures deemed necessary to the conduct of the war. A naval blockade had been established along the 1300 miles of Confederate coastline, the writ of habeas corpus had been suspended and "disloyal" officials in Maryland had been arrested. The four states of the upper South had joined the Confederacy, but four slave states along the border had decided to remain "neutral."

At this special session Congress passed a resolution declaring that the war was being waged not to interfere with "the rights or established institutions [of the States] but to defend and maintain the supremacy and to preserve the Union."

On August 1, 1861 Congress passed an act entitled "An act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes":[12]

> That whenever hereafter during the insurrection against the Government of the United States, any person claimed to be held to labor or service under the laws of any State shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States, or . . . to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navy-yard, dock, armory, ship, or entrenchment, or in any military or naval service whatever, against the Government and lawful authority of the United States, then, and in every such case the person to whom such service is claimed to be due shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State or of the United States notwithstanding. . . .

13. Following this declaration, Congress began to apply pressure

---

[12] Henry Wilson, History of the Antislavery Measures of the Thirty-Seventh and Thirty-Eighth Congresses, 1861-65 (Walker, Fuller, and Company, Boston, 1865), 14-15.

on the Union army for a march on Richmond, the Confederate capitol. But by late fall the military ledger presented a dismal record:[13]

July 21	Gen. McDowell defeated at Bull Run . . . by the Confederates
August 10	Battle of Wilson's Creek won by the Confederates . . .
October 21	Union troops defeated at Ball's Bluff . . .

14. On December 1, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron submitted a report which Lincoln transmitted to Congress without endorsing the suggestion contained therein:[14]

> The geographical position of the metropolis of the nation, menaced by the rebels, and required to be defended by thousands of our troops, induces me to suggest for consideration the propriety and expediency of a reconstruction of the boundaries of the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Wisdom and true statesmanship would dictate that the seat of the National Government, for all time to come, should be placed beyond reasonable danger of seizure by enemies within, as well as from capture by foes from without.

15. In his Annual Message to Congress, delivered on December 3, Lincoln reviewed the course of the war and then stated:[15]

> Under and by virtue of the act of Congress entitled

---

[13] Gorton Carruth and Associates, The Encyclopedia of American Facts and Dates (Thomas Crowell Company, New York, 1916), 265.

[14] Executive Documents, II, 6.

[15] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VII, 50-51.

> "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons have become forfeited, and numbers of the latter thus liberated are already dependent on the United States, and must be provided for in some way. Besides this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons, . . . that such persons, on such acceptance by the General Government, be at once deemed free, and that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes (or the one first mentioned if the other shall not be brought into existence) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.
>
> To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practised the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expendiency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population.

16. On March 13, 1862 the President approved an act of Congress entitled "An act to make an additional article of war":[16]

> All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the

---

[16] Henry Wilson, History of the Antislavery Measures, 22.

> purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and also from detaining, harboring, or concealing such fugitive.

17. During an interview held in March, 1862, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts, a leading abolitionist, asked the following question of the President:[17]

> Do you know who is at this moment the largest slaveholder in the United States? It is Abraham Lincoln, for he holds all the 300,000 slaves of the District of Columbia.

18. In May, 1862 another Massachusetts abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, made a widely publicized prediction:[18]

> [Phillips contends that despite the possible wishes of Lincoln and the nation, slavery is doomed.]

19. On June 19, 1862 President Lincoln approved an act of Congress entitled "An act to secure freedom to all persons within the territories of the United States" which provided:[19]

> That, from and after the passage of this act, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States now existing, or which may at any time hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

20. On July 2, Lincoln called for 300,000 men to serve for a

---

[17] Carl Sandburg, The War Years (Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1939), I, 577.

[18] James M. McPherson, The Struggle for Equalism (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1964), 98.

[19] Henry Wilson, History of the Antislavery Measures, 106-107.

three year period. The response was as follows:[20]

States and Territories	Quota	Men Furnished
Maine	9,609	6,644
New Hampshire	5,053	6,390
Vermont	4,898	4,369
Massachusetts	19,080	16,519
Rhode Island	2,712	2,742
Connecticut	7,145	9,195
New York	59,705	78,904
New Jersey	10,478	5,499
Pennsylvania	45,321	30,891
Delaware	1,720	2,508
Maryland	8,532	3,586
West Virginia	4,650	4,925
District of Columbia	800	1,167
Ohio	36,858	58,325
Indiana	21,250	30,350
Illinois	26,148	58,680
Michigan	11,686	17,656
Wisconsin	11,904	14,472
Minnesota	2,681	4,626
Iowa	10,570	24,438
Missouri	17,209	28,324
Kentucky	14,905	6,463
Kansas	1,771	2,936
Nebraska Territory	.....	1,828
Total	334,835	421,465

21. On July 12, the president summoned thirty congressmen from border states to the White House. Making a plea similar to the one he had made at a conference held the previous March, Lincoln stated:[21]

> Gentlemen: After the adjournment of Congress, now

---

[20] Frederick Phisterer, Statistical Record, 5.

[21] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VII, 270-273.

very near, I shall have no opportunity of seeing you for several months. Believing that you of the border States hold more power for good than any equal number of members, I feel it a duty which I cannot justifiably waive to make this appeal to you. I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual-emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. . . . If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion--by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you as seller, and the nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the things to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats? I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply and in abundance, and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned, one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. General Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be free. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offense, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve

> me, and, much more, can relieve the country, in this important point. Upon these considerations I have again begged your attention to the message of March last. Before leaving the capital, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen and as such I pray you consider this proposition and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people.

Eight of the congressmen agreed to submit the plan to their constituents, but the remaining twenty-two thought the plan was impractical.

22. Much of Secretary of State Seward's diplomatic correspondence was addressed to the United States ambassador in England, Charles Francis Adams, a Massachusetts man of abolitionist leanings whose father and grandfather had both been presidents of the United States. In addition to specific diplomatic instructions, Seward's letters gave detailed descriptions of the state of the war. On July 7, 1862, for example, he wrote:[22]

> General McClellan's original design for the capture of Richmond embraced a march up the peninsula from Fortress Monroe and Yorktown, supported by naval forces on both the York and James River. The sudden appearance of the Merrimack, with her terrible power of mischief, obliged him to confine his march to the bank of the York River with the aid of a fleet in that river alone. He had, then, the Chickahominy, with its variable flow, and its almost impassable swamps, between him and Richmond.

23. Adams' letters presented considerable evidence bearing on British opinion toward the Union and the Confederacy, both in official circles and among the public at large. In a letter dated July 17, Adams made a specific suggestion as to how the

---

[22] Executive Documents, Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1862-'63, I, 125.

Union might influence opinion in England:[23]

> It has occurred to me as important that a marked distinction should be upheld between the objects which the government has had in view from the outset of this struggle, and those which are imputed to it. . . . Instead of being a war for the fuller establishment of free principles, it is construed as one of dominion of one part of the people over the other. In other words, the actual state of facts is precisely reversed. . . . Under these circumstances it seems to me impossible longer to avoid an explicit declaration of the true state of the question. . . . The attitude of a slaveholding nation . . . in bitter hostility to the integrity of the Union as a republic based on freedom, could scarcely be tolerated under any circumstances. . . . It is, then, only through the removal of the main obstacle, this continuance of slavery, that any prospect of a solution of this question at all honorable to the motives of the European powers can be opened up.

24. On July 17, 1862 Congress passed and the president signed into law an act labelled by abolitionists as "an emancipation bill with clogs on":[24]

> An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate the Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes.
>
> Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives . . .
>
> That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within

---

[23] *Ibid.*, I, 140.

[24] George P. Sanger, ed., *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America from December 5, 1859 to March 3, 1863* (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1863), 589, 591.

> the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

25. In a conversation with a Missouri Congressman, Lincoln mentioned three of his most frequent visitors, Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and the two Massachusetts Senators, Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner:[25]

> [Lincoln notes that Stevens, Wilson and Sumner were constantly urging him to issue an Emancipation Proclamation, though he felt that the time was not yet right. He relates a story from his school days which he considers analogous to his dread of the three congressmen.]

26. In 1864, as he sat for a portrait depicting the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln recounted the following episode:[26]

> It had got to be . . . midsummer, 1862. Things had gone from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and after much anxious thought called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. . . . Various suggestions were offered.
>
> Mr. Blair . . . deprecated the policy on the ground

---

[25] Fawn M. Brodie, Thaddeus Stevens, Scourge of the South (W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1959), 157-158.

[26] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln: A History (The Century Co., New York, 1890), VI, 128-130.

> that it would cost the Administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already full anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted Government, a cry for help; the Government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the Government.' His idea . . . was that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat. (This was his precise expression.) 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.' . . . The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for victory.

27. The following letters between Secretary of State Seward and Ambassador Charles Francis Adams in London reflect the state of the Northern military campaign against Richmond in July, 1862.[27]

Seward to Adams, July 28, 1862:

> [Our] assault upon Richmond is for the moment suspended. No great and striking movements or achievements are occurring, and the government is rather preparing its energies for renewed operations than continuing to surprise the world with new and brilliant victories. . . . [T]he purpose of the American government and people to maintain and preserve the Union and their Constitution remains unchanged.

Adams to Seward, July 31, 1862:

An impression is sedulously given that General McClellan's

---

[27] Executive Documents, 154, 156, 160.

> force is practically annulled, and that the whole work of restoration is to begin anew.

28. On August 4, 1862, Lincoln called for an additional 300,000 men to serve a nine month period. The response was as follows:[28]

States	Quota	Men Funnished
Maine	9,609	7,620
New Hampshire	5,053	1,736
Vermont	4,808	4,781
Massachusetts	19,080	16,685
Rhode Island	2,712	2,059
Connecticut	7,145	5,602
New York	59,705	1,781
New Jersey	10,478	10,787
Pennsylvania	45,321	32,215
Delaware	1,720	1,799
Maryland	8,532	.....
West Virginia	4,652	.....
Dist. of Columbia	890	.....
Ohio	36,858	.....
Indiana	21,250	337
Illinois	26,148	.....
Michigan	11,686	.....
Wisconsin	11,904	.....
Minnesota	2,681	.....
Iowa	10,570	.....
Missouri	17,269	.....
Kentucky	14,905	.....
Kansas	1,771	.....
Nebraska Territory	.....	1,228
Total	334,835	87,588

29. In 1861 and 1862, Lincoln was offered regiments of Negro troops from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Indiana. As reported in the New York Tribune on August 5, 1862, Lincoln's

---

[28] Frederick Phisterer, Statistical Record, 5.

response to the Indiana offer was typical of his response to all such offers:[29]

> [The article reports on the attempt by a deputation of Indiana gentlemen to get Lincoln to enlist two colored regiments. He refused because of his fear that if he did enlist colored soldiers the nation would lose the loyalty of Kentucky and the other border states.]

30. From a letter by Seward to Charles Francis Adams in London, August 13, 1862:[30]

> Richmond is at this moment the centre of our anxieties. Our plans for operations against it are not so settled and decisive as to allow me to communicate them, for the reason that they may be modified by discoveries of the plans of the insurgents. . . . There is every reason to expect important military occurrences, and, perhaps a development of the plan for a new campaign before the departure of the next steamer [to England]. . . .

31. Lincoln invited a delegation of negroes to the White House on August 14, 1862, to enlist their support for his plan for establishing colonies for negroes in other countries. Following is an account of the interview:[31]

> The President: . . .
>
> You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage

---

[29] Roy P. Basler, ed., Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, V, 356-357.

[30] Executive Documents, 174.

[31] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 2-3.

> to us both, as I think. Your race suffer very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated. You here are freemen, I suppose?
>
> A voice: Yes, sir.
>
> The President: Perhaps you have long been free, or all your lives. Your race is suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoys. The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you. . . . Owing to the existence of the two races on this continent, I need not recount to you the effects upon white men, growing out of the institution of slavery.
>
> I believe in its general evil effects on the white race. See our present condition--the country engaged in war--our white men cutting one another's throats--none knowing how far it will extend--and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.[32]

32. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, wrote Lincoln an open letter entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions" which prayed that the president consider emancipation more favorably. On August 22, Lincoln, who had once said that Greeley's support would be "as helpful to me as an army of

---

[32] Frederick Douglass subsequently suggested that colonies be established for slave holders instead of for negroes.

one hundred thousand men," answered as follows:[33]

> I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.
>
> I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

33. On September 8, Seward wrote again to Adams in London:[34]

> You will have learned, before this despatch shall reach you, that our late campaign in Virginia has failed; that the insurgent forces, escaping our armies, have returned to the occupation of Northern Virginia; and have even crossed the upper Potomac and taken up a position at Frederick, in Maryland, where they seem to be threatening alike Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburgh. . . .
>
> Our information from the west is that the insurgents are equally bold and adventurous in that quarter, and that although no great disaster has occurred there, new energies

---

[33] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 15-16.

[34] Executive Documents, 188-189.

> of the government are necessary to save the States of Tennessee and Kentucky for the Union, if not to prevent inroads in Ohio.
>
> The three hundred thousand volunteers called for by the President have already been mustered in the service, and near half of them are in the field. . . . Nowhere, neither on the part of the army, nor of the people, does there appear the least sign of indecision or of despondency, although, of course, the country is, for the moment, filled with deep anxiety.
>
> We hear, officially and unofficially, of great naval preparations which are on foot in British and other foreign ports, under cover of neutrality, to give to the insurgents a naval force. Among these reports is one that a naval armament is fitting out in England to lay New York under contribution.

34. On September 12, Adams in London wrote a letter to the Secretary of State:[35]

> There are announcements of increasing distress among the [workers in the textile districts here] and as the growing scarcity of cotton has the effect of closing more of the mills. . . . [A] considerable addition to the supply [is expected soon] from India. . . . The anxiety about the crops has been quieted, partly by the prevalence of fine weather during the harvest, and partly by extensive importation of breadstuffs from America, which puts an end to the apprehension of famine prices.[36] . .
>
> To permit the establishment of any such authority to the south of us as that indicated seems to be out of the question. It would be far wiser to determine that rather than this the social basis upon which it is designed to maintain it should be, once and for all, removed. Whatever might be the hesitation to act whilst the question remained confined within purely domestic considerations, it will cease the moment that any extraneous element of foreign agency shall be introduced. Great Britain,

---

[35] Ibid., 189-191.

[36] In addition to commercial wheat transactions, some groups in the North sent donations of grain to the hardest hit mill-towns in England.

> after wielding the moral considerations of the slave question for many years for the purpose of stimulating our domestic dissensions, cannot be allowed to complete her work by upholding a slaveborn authority as a perpetual check upon our prosperity. All the considerations of our safety in the distant future forbid the idea. The whole case changes its character the moment we come to look at it in this new light. Its moral aspects become not less momentous than its political aspects. The position of the two nations is thus made antagonistic on a great issue of principle, and the protection of the great idea of human liberty becomes more than ever before the bounden duty of the United States.
>
> I have been led into this course of reflection insensibly by the incidental exposition of the gradually spreading antipathy to us among the people of this city and kingdom, as it has been shown by the reception of General Pope's announcement that we have gained a victory. Here it is viewed in the light of a disaster, and great efforts are made to discredit it.

35. On September 13, 1862, Lincoln met with a religious delegation from Chicago which urged him to advance God's will by issuing an emancipation proclamation. Lincoln replied:[37]

> What good would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves, when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel States? Is there a single court, or magistrate, or individual that would be influenced by it there? And what reason is there to think it would have any greater effect upon the slaves than the late law of Congress, which I approved, and which offers protection and freedom to the slaves of rebel masters who come within our lines? Yet I cannot learn that the law has caused a single slave to come over to us. And suppose they could be induced by a proclamation of freedom from me to throw themselves upon us, what should we do with them? How can we feed and care for such a multitude? . . .

---

[37] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 30-33.

> Understand, I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy; nor do I urge objections of a moral nature, in view of possible consequences of insurrection and massacre at the South.
>
> I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion. . . . [W]e already have an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government is at stake. This is a fundamental idea going down about as deep as anything.
>
> Do not misunderstand me because I have mentioned these objections. They indicate the difficulties that have thus far prevented my action in some such way as you desire. I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do. . . .

36. On September 15, Seward sent the following messages to Adams in London:[38]

> Just at the moment when the mail is about to close authentic information reaches the government that the insurgent forces which have been approaching and menacing Cincinnati and Louisville have receded, and are retreating in Kentucky. The alarm . . . [in Ohio] has passed. The press has already announced that the insurgent army, which has been threatening Washington, Baltimore, and Pennsylvania, evacuated Frederick on the 12th instant. I now give you a despatch which has just been received from Major General McClellan, which shows the position of the two armies at the present moment. . . .
>
> Since my previous despatches were put into the mail General McClellan reports that the battle yesterday mentioned in his telegram proves to have been a complete victory. The enemy was routed, and he fled during the night.

---

[38] Executive Documents, 192-193.

McClellan is in pursuit.[39]

37. A telegram to President Lincoln:[40]

> Headquarters Army of the Potomac,
> Sharpsburg, Sept. 19, 1862.
>
> I have the honor to report that Maryland is entirely freed from the presence of the enemy, who has been driven across the Potomac. No fears need now be entertained for the safety of Pennsylvania. I shall at once occupy Harper's Ferry.
>
> G. B. McCLELLAN,
> Maj. Gen. Commanding.

38. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase recorded in his diary the following account of a statement made by the President to his Cabinet on September 22:[41]

> Gentlemen: I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery; and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared on this subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought, all along, that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation

---

[39] On the contrary McClellan's failure to pursue the routed enemy was one reason Lincoln later relieved McClellan of his command.

[40] G. S. Hillard, Life and Campaigns of George B. McClellan, Major-General U. S. Army (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1868), 304.

[41] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln: A History, VI, 159.

> of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and (hesitating a little) to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. . . .
>
> [But] if there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter, which any of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestions. . . .

39. That same day Seward sent a copy of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation to American diplomatic representatives throughout the world. The covering letter noted:[42]

> In the judgment of the President the time has come for setting forth the great fact distinctly for the consideration of the people in . . . [the Confederacy] that if they will persist in forcing upon the country a choice between the dissolution of this necessary and beneficient government or a relinquishment of the protection of slavery, it is the Union, and not slavery, that must be maintained and preserved.

---

[42] Executive Documents, 195.

SECTION IV

TWO PROCLAMATIONS

On January 1, 1862, one hundred days after issuing the Preliminary Proclamation, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This section presents the two Emancipation Proclamations against the background of the important political and military events which transpired in this period. Further light may be shed on the basic question as to whether Lincoln was the captive of events or their master by comparing the provisions of the two Proclamations and by relating them to the current military and political developments.

1. After incorporating a few minor changes as suggested by his Cabinet, Lincoln signed the following document on September 22, 1862:[1]

> A Proclamation.
>
> I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.
>
> That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United

---

[1] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 36-41.

States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed, conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled "An act to make an additional article of war," approved March 13, 1862. . . .

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862. . . .

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

2. The September issue of Harper's Weekly carried the following editorial comment on the Preliminary Proclamation:[2]

> [The article discusses the response of Northerners to Negro emancipation and notes that the war has helped to develop "abolition views" in "educated and liberal men" who formerly had opposed the abolition of slavery because of beliefs concerning the limits of the Constitution and antipathy toward the Negro.]

3. The Chicago Times of September 24 characterized the issuing of the Proclamation in the following terms:[3]

> [The article is a protest against the Proclamation as an act of bad faith toward conservative Northerners and loyal Union men in the border states, as an unconstitutional act, and as a hindrance to the restoration of the Union.]

4. The October issue of Douglass' Monthly contained the following comment by Frederick Douglass:[4]

> [Douglass welcomes the passage of the Proclamation and contends that the careful if not slothful deliberation of the President is a guarantee against its retraction, as retraction would only cause greater difficulties. He argues that the black man ought to be allowed to join the war against the rebellion in order to insure its suppression.]

5. The border States viewed the Preliminary Proclamation with apprehension because of the provision granting freedom to all

---

[2] Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers, Tragic Years, I, 402.

[3] Herbert Mitgang, Lincoln as They Saw Him (Collier Books, New York, 1962), 308.

[4] Philip S. Foner, Frederick Douglass, III, 273-274, 277.

slaves in rebel areas as of the first of January. This meant that they would be surrounded by free states, increasing the temptation to their own slaves to escape. The South viewed the proclamation as a desperation move to incite insurrection among the slaves and strengthened its national guard units accordingly. The reaction of Southern negroes was captured by "Cuffee's War Song, or Hooray for Sixty-Three":[5]

> [This song in dialect hails the freedom of the slaves as accorded by the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.]

6. One Washington newspaper, regularly read by Lincoln, reprinted the following editorial which had previously appeared in a French newspaper:[6]

> [This article claims that Lincoln issued the Proclamation as a military measure rather than an antislavery measure based on principle, as it allows slavery in loyal Union states. The article condemns Lincoln as a man of expediency rather than a man of conviction and statesmanship and expresses hope that greater problems will not arise for the nation because of Lincoln's "error."]

7. Off year elections were held in the fall of 1862. In Illinois the Union Party, which had been formed by supporters of the Lincoln administration drawn from both the Republican and the Democratic Parties, nominated E. C. Ingersoll to serve as Congressman-at-large in the House of Representatives. The

---

[5] Willard A. Heaps and Porter W. Heaps, The Singing Sixties: The Spirit of Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1960), 281.

[6] Herbert Mitgang, Lincoln as They Saw Him, 319-320.

Democratic Party put forward James Allen who had openly opposed emancipation and the proclamation. Allen was elected by a plurality of 14,000 and the state legislature passed from Republican to Democratic control. The elections returns in Illinois are indicated on the following map (see next page).

8. Horace Greeley analyzed the results of the elections:[7]

> Whether the open adhesion of the President at last to the policy of Emancipation did or did not contribute to the general defeat of his supporters in the State Elections which soon followed, is still fairly disputable. . . . The general result of those elections is summed up in the following table:

States	1860 - President		1862 - Gov. or Congress	
	Lincoln	All Others	Admin.	Opp.
New York	362,646	812,510	295,897	306,649
New Jersey	58,324	62,801	46,710	61,307
Pennsylvania	268,030	208,412	215,616	219,140
Ohio	231,610	210,831	178,755	184,332
Indiana	139,033	133,110	118,517	128,160
Illinois	172,161	160,215	120,116	136,662
Michigan	88,480	66,267	68,716	62,102
Wisconsin	86,110	66,070	66,801	67,985
Iowa	70,409	57,922	66,014*	50,898
Minnesota	22,069	12,668	15,754	11,442
10 States	1,498,872	1,290,806	1,191,896	1,228,677

1860-Lincoln's maj.-208,066. 1862-Opp. maj.-35,781.

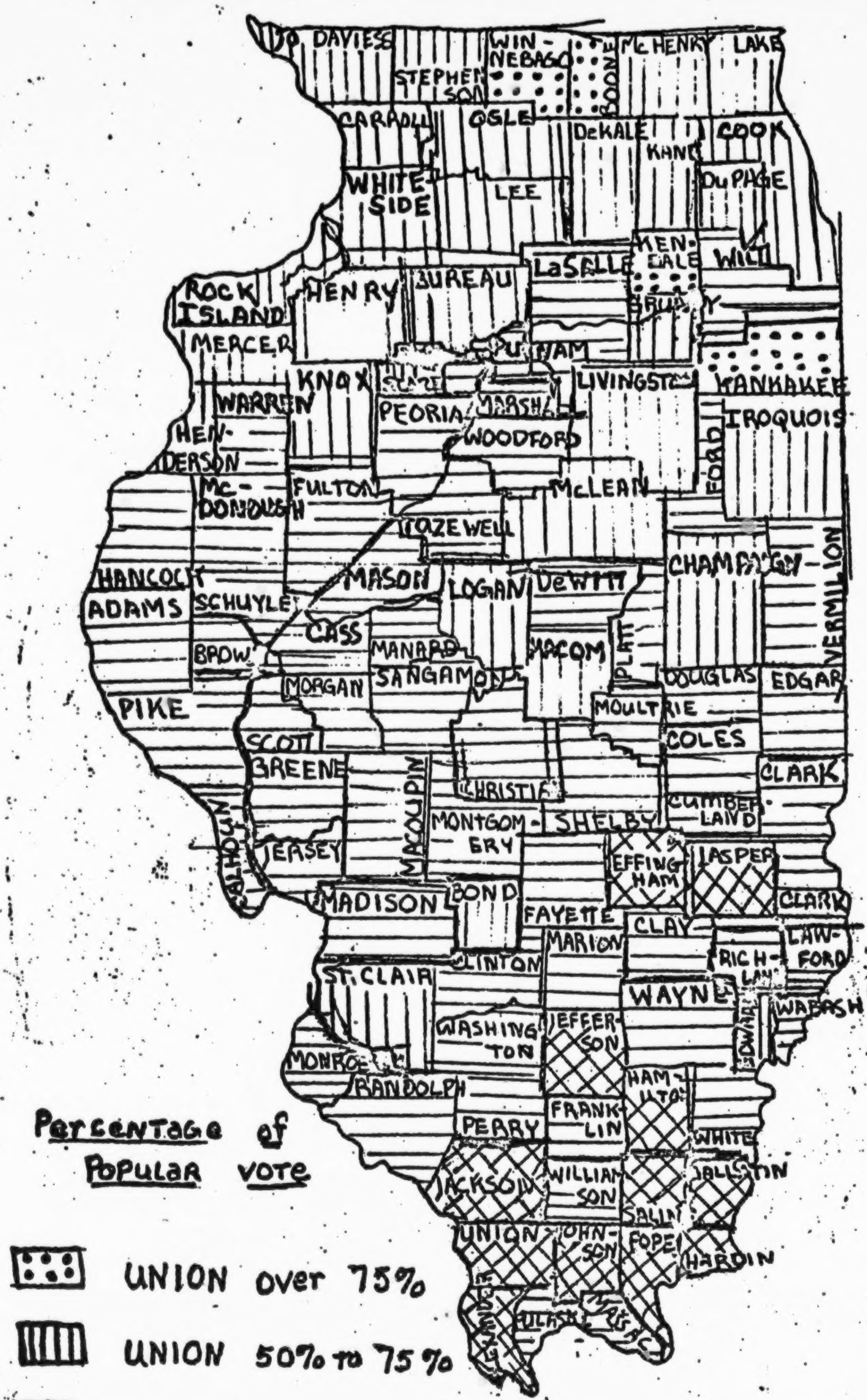
*Soldier's vote: Admn., 14,878; Opp, 4,115.

Wisconsin Soldier's Vote: Admn., 8,373; Opp., 2,046. No other states had yet authorized their soldiers in the field to vote.

---

[7] Horace Greeley, The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860-'65 (D. D. Case & Company, Hartford, 1866), II, 254-255.

ELECTION OF THE CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE 1862



---

[8] Adapted from Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, opposite 298.

The Representatives in Congress chosen from these States were politically classified as follows:

	1860.		1862.	
	Repub.	Dem.	Admin.	Opp.
New York	23	10	14	17
New Jersey	2	8	1	4
Pennsylvania	18	7	12	12
Ohio	13	8	5	14
Indiana	7	4	4	7
Illinois	4	5	5	9
Michigan	4	0	5	1
Wisconsin	3	0	3	3
Iowa	2	0	6	0
Minnesota	2	0	2	0
Total, 10 States	78	37	57	67

1860-Lincoln maj.-41.   1862-Opposition maj., 10.

Note.--A new apportionment under the Census of 1860 changed materially, between 1860 and 1862, the number of Representatives from several of the States.

There were some counterbalancing changes in the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, as also in that of California, where the larger share of the Douglas vote of 1860 was in '62 cast for the Union tickets; but it was clear, at the close of the State Elections of that year, that the general ill success of the War for the Union, the widespread and increasing repugnance to Conscription, Taxation, a depreciated Currency, and high-priced Fabrics, were arraying Public Sentiment against the further prosecution of the contest. Of course, the Opposition inveighed against the management of the War and of the Finances, the treatment of Gen. McClellan, and the general inefficiency and incapacity of the Administration; but the strength of that Opposition inhered in popular repugnance to the sacrifices exacted by and the perils involved in a prosecution of the struggle, though its most general and taking clamor deprecated only "The perversion of the War for the Union--of whom at least three-fourths voted Republican at each election wherein they were allowed to vote at all; but who had not yet been enabled to vote in the field, while their absence created a chasm in the Administration vote at home--it is quite probable that, had a popular election been held at any time during the year following the Fourth of July, 1862, on the question of continuing the War or

> arresting it on the best attainable terms, a majority would have voted for Peace; while it is highly probable that a still larger majority would have voted against Emancipation.". . . The President, though widely reproached with tardiness and reluctance in taking up the gage plainly thrown down by the Slave Power, was probably ahead of a majority of the people of the loyal States in definitively accepting the issue of Emancipation or Disunion.

9. During the one hundred days which intervened between the two Emancipation Proclamations, the military ledger read as follows:[9]

November 5	President Lincoln relieved Gen. McClellan as commander-in-chief of Northern forces and appointed Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside to succeed him.
December 13	Union troops defeated at Fredericksburg, Virginia by General Lee. The Federals, under Gen. Burnside, suffered 12,653 killed and wounded while the Confederates lost 5,309 men.

10. What thoughts did Lincoln himself have on the subject of emancipation during this period? To his Vice President, Hannibal Hamlin, who had sent a congratulatory message, Lincoln wrote as follows:[10]

> (Strictly Private)
> Executive Mansion,
> Washington, September 28, 1862.
>
> My Dear Sir: Your kind letter of the 25th is just received. It is known to some that while I hope something from the proclamation, my expectations are not as sanguine

---

[9] Gorton Carruth and Associates, Encyclopedia, 269.

[10] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., VIII, 49-50.

> as are those of some friends. The time for its effect southward has not come; but northward the effect should be instantaneous.
>
> It is six days old, and while commendation in newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined, and troops come forward more slowly than ever. This, looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory. We have fewer troops in the field at the end of six days than we had at the beginning--the attrition among the old outnumbering the addition by the new. The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels.
>
> I wish I could write more cheerfully; nor do I thank you the less for the kindness of your letter.
>
> Yours very truly,
> A. LINCOLN.

11. One caller at the White House, Congressman John Covode of Pennsylvania, found the President restless pacing back and forth and reported Lincoln as making the following statement about issuing the Emancipation Proclamation:[11]

> [Lincoln expresses the conviction that, though painful, it is his duty to issue the Proclamation.]

12. Lincoln was aware of the situation in Kentucky which General Horatio G. Wright, who was involved in the Union Army and Kentucky campaign, described in a letter to General Hallick dated Dec. 30, 1862.[12]

> I have information . . . that in case the President issues his proclamation . . . on the 1st proximo, the

---

[11] Carl Sandburg, The War Years, II, 14.

[12] Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, VI, 42.

> Legislature of Kentucky, which meets on Monday next, will legislate the State out of the Union.

13. On December 30, members of the Cabinet received copies of the final proclamation. On December 31, Lincoln called a meeting of the Cabinet. Various members suggested changes. Secretary of the Treasury Chase contributed the next to the last paragraph. His further suggestion, that the proclamation be made applicable to entire states, was rejected by Lincoln on the grounds that the 13 Louisiana parishes and the counties around Norfolk had held elections in conformity with the terms of the Preliminary Proclamation. Attorney General Bates submitted an extensive legal opinion. Lincoln wrote out the final draft on the afternoon of December 31, and on January 1, 1863, issued the Proclamation:[13]

> BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:
>
> A Proclamation.
>
> Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following to wit:
>
> "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons,

---

[13] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 161-164.

or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall in the absence of strong countervailing testimony be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of 100 days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and recommend to them that, in all cases where allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SECTION V

A NEW WAR

The impact of the Emancipation Proclamation was sizeable both abroad and at home. From England Henry Adams, the son and secretary of the United States Ambassador, wrote that "the Emancipation Proclamation has done more for us here than all our former victories and all our diplomacy." On the home front the Proclamation had a major effect on the military fortunes of the North.

Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation had transformed the war for Union into a War for Freedom as well. This change held grave implications for the basis on which the struggle could be brought to a close, for the change in the purposes for which the war was being fought necessarily changed the terms under which a peace could be arranged.

A. Fighting the New War

One important consequence of the Emancipation Proclamation was its effect on determining who would do the actual fighting on the battle fields of the Civil War.

1. Wendell Phillips, a Boston abolitionist who a few years earlier had called Lincoln "the slave hound of Illinois,"

commented:[1]

> 'Will you go away, if I venture to free you?' said the President on the twenty-second of September. 'May I colonize you among the sickly deserts or the vast jungles of South America?' On the first day of January, he says to the same four million, 'Let me colonize you in the forts of the Union, and put rifles in your hands! (Applause.) Give us your hand to defend the perpetuity of the Union.' . . . No one worth minding now doubts or debates about the emancipation of slaves.

2. Early 1863 saw the recruitment and training of several all negro regiments under white officers. In March the First South Carolina Volunteers recaptured Jacksonville, Florida, from the Confederates. Lincoln wrote the following letter to General Hunter whose emancipation proclamation he had overruled earlier in the war:[2]

> (Private.)
> Executive Mansion,
> Washington, D.C., April 1, 1863.
>
> My dear Sir: I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected, It is important to the enemy that such a force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South, and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it shall. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them, and we should do the same to preserve and increase them.
>
> Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

3. Lincoln's apprehensions were well founded. From a speech

---

[1] Carolos Martyn, Wendell Phillips, The Agitator (Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1890), 326.

[2] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 239.

delivered by Lincoln on April 18, 1863:[3]

> A painful rumor--true, I fear--has reached us of the massacre by the rebel forces at Fort Pillow, in the west end of Tennessee, on the Mississippi River, of some three hundred colored soldiers and white officers, who had just been overpowered by their assailants. There seems to be some anxiety in the public mind whether the government is doing its duty to the colored soldier, and to the service, at this point. At the beginning of the war, and for some time, the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change of purpose was wrought I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty I resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and in my final account to God. Having determined to use the negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier. The difficulty is not in stating the principle, but in practically applying it. It is a mistake to suppose the government is indifferent in this matter, or is not doing the best it can in regard to it. . . . We are having the Fort Pillow affair thoroughly investigated; and such investigation will probably show conclusively how the truth is. . . . If there has been the massacre of three hundred there, or even the tenth part of three hundred, it will be conclusively proved; and being so proved, the retribution shall as surely come. It will be matter of grave consideration in what exact course to apply the retribution; but in the supposed case it must come.

4. The "painful rumor" was soon confirmed. The Confederate army, having forced the soldiers to surrender their arms, ordered them to jump into the Tennessee River and shot those who refused. As explained by General Nathaniel Forrest, later leader of the Ku Klux Klan, this was "to demonstrate to the Northern people that Negro soldiers cannot cope with Southerners."

In retaliation Lincoln held a number of Southerners as

---

[4] Ibid., 48-49.

hostages, vowing not to return them to their former prisoner of war status until the Confederacy agreed to prevent such actions from happening in the future.

Responding to the South's unwillingness to exchange captured negro soldiers for white soldiers and to a Confederate resolution stating that white Union officers of negro soldiers "shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the court," Lincoln issued an Order of Retaliation:[4]

> Executive Mansion
> Washington, D.C., July 30, 1863.
>
> It is the duty of every government to give protection to its citizens of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism and a crime against the civilization of the age.
>
> The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession.
>
> It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.
>
> ABRAHAM LINCOLN

---

[4] *Ibid.*, 48-49.

5. Negroes in the armed services, whatever their rank, were paid laborer's wages of $7.00 per month and were not allowed to become officers. Pay for white soldiers started at $13.00. This occasioned James Henry Gooding, Negro corporal in the 54th Massachusetts, to write Lincoln:[5]

> [A plea is made to pay Negro soldiers the same as whites since Negroes have been dedicated and loyal to the Union cause.]

No reply from Lincoln is preserved, but in July, 1864 Congress equalized the pay of black and white soldiers and in September, after heated debate, agreed to pay at the new rate the back wages of those negroes who had refused to accept the discriminatory scale. Corporal Gooding, who had been wounded in battle and taken prisoner in Florida, died in the Andersonville prison camp on July 19, 1864.

6. On August 9, 1863, Lincoln received the following note from General Grant:[6]

> I have given this subject of arming the negro my hearty support. This, with the emancipation . . . is the heaviest blow yet given the Confederacy. . . .

7. On December 8, 1863, Lincoln delivered his Annual Message

---

[5] Herbert Aptheker, ed., A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (Citadel Press, New York, 1965), I, 482-484.

[6] Roy P. Basler, The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, VI, 375.

to Congress:[7]

> When Congress assembled a year ago the war had already lasted nearly twenty months, and there had been many conflicts on both land and sea with varying results. The rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits; yet the tone of public feeling and opinion, at home and abroad, was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves while, amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon, and furnished from, foreign shores, and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarter as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We had failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject. The preliminary emancipation proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, including the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of emancipation, and of employing black soldiers, gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope, and fear, and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the General Government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as was anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful ways. Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and, by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would

---

[7] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, IX, 244-247.

> tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new Territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits.
>
> Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticized, and denounced and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning, The crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past.

8. A few weeks before the war's end, Lincoln in speaking to the men of the One Hundred Fortieth Indiana Regiment, made some comments regarding negro troops:[8]

> [Lincoln comments on the news that the South intends to use Negroes to fight for them[9] and notes that if they do fight for those who would keep them in slavery they deserve to be slaves. He indicates that Negroes cannot "stay at home and make bread" and fight as soldiers at the same time and the fact that the South has decided to use them as soldiers indicates that they are at the bottom of their resources.]

---

[8] Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 361-362.

[9] This move by the South was agreed upon too late for any slave to fight against the North.

9. On April 4, 1864 Lincoln commented on the Emancipation Proclamation in a letter to A. G. Hodges, an editor in Kentucky who had asked Lincoln to put into writing the substance of remarks he had made earlier in the week:[10]

> When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force--no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure. . . .
>
> I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.
>
> Yours truly,
> A. LINCOLN.

10. From October 1863 to the war's end, Lincoln's calls for additional troops, both black and white, were answered as

---

[10] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, X, 67-8.

follows:[11]

Date of Request	Number Requested	Number of Volunteers
October 17, 1863 - February 1, 1864	467,434	369,830
March 14, 1864	200,000	292,193
April 23 - July 17, 1864	113,000	83,612
July 18, 1864	357,152	386,461
December 19, 1864	284,215	212,212

States and Territories	Quota	Men		Total
		Furnish'd	Paid commutation	
Maine	73,587	70,107	2,007	72,114
New Hampshire	35,897	83,937	692	34,629
Vermont	32,074	33,288	1,974	35,262
Massachusetts	139,095	146,730	5,318	152,048
Rhode Island	18,898	23,236	463	23,699
Connecticut	44,797	55,864	1,515	57,379
New York	507,148	448,850	18,197	467,047
New Jersey	92,820	76,814	4,196	81,010
Pennsylvania	385,369	337,936	28,171	366,107
Delaware	13,935	12,284	1,386	13,670
Maryland	70,965	46,638	3,678	50,316
West Virginia	34,463	32,068	.....	32,068
District of Columbia	13,973	16,534	338	16,872
Ohio	306,322	313,180	6,479	319,659
Indiana	199,788	196,363	784	197,147
Illinois	244,496	259,092	55	259,147
Michigan	95,007	87,364	2,008	89,372
Wisconsin	109,080	91,327	5,097	96,424
Minnesota	26,326	24,020	1,032	25,052
Iowa	79,521	76,242	67	76,309
Missouri	122,496	109,111	.....	109,111
Kentucky	100,782	75,760	3,265	79,025
Kansas	12,931	20,149	2	20,151
Tennessee	1,560	31,092	.....	31,092
Arkansas	780	8,289	.....	8,289
North Carolina	1,560	3,156	.....	3,156
California	.....	15,725	.....	15,725
Nevada	.....	1,080	.....	1,080
Oregon	.....	1,810	.....	1,810
Washington Territory	.....	964	.....	964

---

[11] Adapted from Phisterer, Statistical Record, 5-11.

States and Territories	Quota	Men		Total
		Furnish'd	Paid commutation	
Nebraska Territory	.....	3,157	.....	3,157
Colorado Territory	.....	4,903	.....	4,903
Dakota Territory	.....	206	.....	206
New Mexico Territory	.....	6,561	.....	6,561
Alabama	.....	2,576	.....	2,576
Florida	.....	1,290	.....	1,290
Louisiana	.....	5,224	.....	5,224
Mississippi	.....	545	.....	545
Texas	.....	1,965	.....	1,965
Indian Nation	.....	3,530	.....	3,530
Colored Troops	.....	93,441	.....	93,441
Total	2,763,670	2,772,408	86,724	2,859,132

The numbers given opposite "Colored Troops" in the foregoing table . . . show, not the total number of colored troops enlisted, but simply the number of those who were organized at various stations in the States in rebellion, and who could not be at the time, and were not, assigned or specifically credited to States.

The total number of colored troops enlisted during the war was 186,097.

B. Ending the War

In his first Inaugural Address Lincoln clearly stated his understanding of the purposes for which the war was being fought. On subsequent occasions Lincoln reformulated his conception of the war aims of the Union, as did others in various parts of the country.

1. In October 1863, Lincoln wrote the following letter to a

friend:[12]

> We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound--Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, slavery--those for it without, but not with--those for it with or without, but prefer it with--and those for it with or without but prefer it without.
>
> Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery. . . . [A]ll these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union.

2. In early July, 1863, the Union army republsed a southern invasion of the north at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, thereby permanently forestalling the Confederate bid for recognition by foreign nations. The battle cost the North 3,155 men killed and about 200,000 wounded or missing; it cost the South 3,903 killed and about 24,000 wounded or missing. Many of these were buried in the national cemetary at Gettysburg. Lincoln attended the dedication of this cemetary on November 19, 1863 and delivered the following remarks:[13]

> Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in

---

[12] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, IX, 156-157.

[13] Ibid., 209-210.

> liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.
>
> Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.
>
> But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate--we cannot consecrate--we cannot hallow--this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecretated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us--that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

3. A white soldier in the Union ranks under General Banks in New Orleans wrote home to Massachusetts on February 17, 1863:[14]

> [A]s the aspect of the war has changed, it is now instead of being one to crush the rebellion, a war, the sole object being the freedom of the negroes. Prest Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation is outrageous. Had I my wish every nigger in the Union, should be sunk in the Atlantic Ocean or else remanded back to slavery. I hope no more niggers will be set free; they are wily and treacherous. I have a negro servant to take care of my horse and room, and I am obliged to keep close watch on him or he will steall everything I possess. . . .

4. Debates in Congress reflected the divisions in public

---

[14] John J. Lynch Papers, Chicago Historical Society. [Spelling and punctuation as in the original.]

opinion as to why the war was being fought. On February 10, 1864, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts protested in the Senate chamber an episode involving a negro army surgeon who had been ejected from a street car in the District of Columbia. Senator Wilson, also from Massachusetts, mentioned a similar case in which two negro soldiers, unlike their white companion, had been forced to ride in an army vehicle otherwise reserved for animals:[15]

> Senator Wilson -- [The District of Columbia] is not the only place that needs reform. The truth about it is . . . that slavery has had its corrupting and malign influences upon the country. The country will yet, however, be abolitionized and civilized and humanized, but it must be abolitionized before the high civilization or the high humanity will come. . . . I hope the Federal Government will correct these outrages. . . .
>
> Senator Hendricks of Indiana -- [The Senators from Massachusetts] have now declared the end to which we are now come, and that by the action of the federal government the social as well as the political equality of the negro is to be forced upon the white race. . . . The distinction between the two races is yet maintained in Indiana. How much longer it will be maintained I am not able to say. The Senator says that abolitionism is to do its work, and one of its works, as I understand from him, is to bring about social equality. I presume he means also political equality. . . . [The Massachusetts Senators] have told the country that this is the end we are come to, that this war is not only for the freedom of the negro but for the equality of the negro socially as well as politically. . . .

5. In August, 1864, Jefferson Davis sent a letter to Lincoln stating the terms on which the South would stop fighting:[16]

> I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals

---

[15] Congressional Globe, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., I, 554.

[16] Herbert Agar, Abraham Lincoln (MacMillan, New York, 1952), 130.

> for peace on the basis of our Independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other.

6. During the summer of 1864, as the parties held their national nominating conventions, citizens across the country considered the direction which the war was taking. Lincoln made it clear that he did not agree with those who argued that in order to get the south to end the war, the abolition of slavery should not be insisted upon, in effect, that the emancipation proclamation should not be enforced. In August Lincoln received a letter from Charles D. Robinson, editor of the Green Bay, Wisconsin _Advocate_. Robinson, who with other "War Democrats" had supported Lincoln's proclamation as "the only available method of putting down the rebellion," now held Lincoln guilty of a breach of trust for insisting that "no steps can be taken towards peace . . . unless accompanied with an abandonment of slavery"and claimed that this puts "the whole war question on a new basis." Lincoln's reply of August 17, stated:[17]

> It is true, as you remind me, that in the Greeley letter of 1862, I said: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." I continued in the same letter as follows: "What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

---

[17] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., _The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln_, X, 194-197.

All this I said in the utmost sincerity; and I am as true to the whole of it now as when I first said it. When I afterward proclaimed emancipation, and employed colored soldiers, I only followed the declaration just quoted from the Greeley letter that "I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause." The way these measures were to help the cause was not to be by magic or miracles, but by inducing the colored people to come bodily over from the rebel side to ours. . . .

[N]egroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive--even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept. . . . I am sure you will not, on due reflection, say that the promise being made must be broken at the first opportunity. I am sure you would not desire me to say, or to leave an inference, that I am ready, whenever convenient, to join in reenslaving those who shall have served us in consideration of our promise. As a matter of morals, could such treachery by any possibility escape the curses of heaven, or of any good man? As matter of policy, to announce such a purpose would ruin the Union cause itself. All recruiting of colored men would instantly cease and all colored men now in our service would instantly desert us. And rightfully too. Why should they give their lives for us, with full notice of our purpose to betray them? Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming, administration can save the Union. Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we cannot longer maintain the contest. The party who could elect a President on a War and Slavery Restoration platform would, of necessity, lose the colored force; and that force being lost, would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing.

It is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated, as horsepower and steam-power are measured and estimated. And, by measurement, it is more than we can lose and live. Nor can we, by discarding it, get a white force in place of it. There is a witness in every white man's bosom that he would rather go to the war having the negro to help him than to help the enemy against him. It is not the giving of one class for another--it is simply giving a large force to the enemy for nothing in return. . . .

> [Nevertheless] Jefferson Davis wishes for himself, or for the benefit of his friends at the North, to know what I would do if he were to offer peace and reunion, saying nothing about slavery, let him try me.

7. The "War and Slavery Restoration" platform referred to by Lincoln was that of the Democratic Party, whose candidate was General George B. McClellan, McClellan had found the emancipation proclamation unpalatable even before Lincoln had removed him from his command for incompetence. Lincoln won the election in November. In December Lincoln sent his Annual Message to Congress which included the following statement:[18]

> I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that 'while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.'

8. With the South clinging to its hope for independence and Lincoln insistent on Union and Freedom, the war had to be pursued until the South was beaten on the field of battle. Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865, and Johnston shortly thereafter. In his Second Inaugural Address, delivered from the steps of the capitol on March 4, 1865, Lincoln analyzed the war:[19]

> Fellow-Countrymen: . . .
>
> On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it--all sought to avert it. While the

---

[18] *Ibid.*, X, 310.

[19] *Ibid.*, XI, 44-45.

inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war--seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. [Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease.] Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered--that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh! If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope--fervently do we pray--that this mighty scourge or war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." . . .

SECTION VI

A NEW NATION

Following the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had to consider the side implications which that document held both for those geographic areas included in it and for those specifically excluded. Along what principles would governments be reestablished in those disloyal areas in which the negroes were now free? To what extent would those principles be equally applicable in loyal but still slaveholding states? Part A deals with the implementation of emancipation in the Confederacy. Part B with its implementation elsewhere in the United States.

A. Lincoln's Policy for the South

The question of implementing the Emancipation Proclamation in the seceded states was first raised in relation to Louisiana, which withdrew from the war early in 1864 following the capture of New Orleans by the Union army. The documents in Part A relate to Louisiana, but suggest by implication what Lincoln had in mind for the rest of the South as well.

1. In August, 1863, General N. P. Banks, Commander of the Department of the Gulf, wrote Lincoln asking what role emancipation should play in the new constitution which would eventually

be adopted by the voters in Louisiana. Lincoln replied as follows:[1]

> I would be glad for her [Louisiana] to make a new constitution recognizing the emancipation proclamation, and adopting emancipation in those parts of the State to which the proclamation does not apply. And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of the old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included.
>
> As an anti-slavery man, I have a motive to desire emancipation which pro-slavery men do not have; but even they have strong enough reason to thus place themselves again under the shield of the Union; and to thus perpetually hedge against the recurrence of the scenes through which we are now passing.
>
> For my own part, I think I shall not, in any event, retract the emancipation proclamation; nor, as executive, ever return to slavery any person who is freed by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.
>
> If Louisiana shall send members to Congress, their admission to seats will depend, as you know, upon the respective Houses, and not upon the President.

2. In his Annual Message delivered on December 8, 1863, Lincoln included proclamations of reconstruction and amnesty, with an explanatory note outlining the views on slavery which a person had to hold to be granted amnesty. All confederates could receive the president's pardon except former United States and Confederate governmental and military personnel and "all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners

---

[1] Ibid., IX, 56-58.

of war." Lincoln proclaimed[2]

> that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath . . . and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, [which shall then be readmitted into the Union].
>
> [The oath read:] I, __________, do solemnly swear, in presence of almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.
>
> [The note explaining the demand for allegiance to "all proclamations . . . having reference to slaves" read:] [T]hose laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect, there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided, and will further aid, the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and an astounding breach of faith.

3. As Louisiana, under the direction of federal military authorities, made plans for a convention of free pardoned white

---

[2] *Ibid.*, IX, 218-221.

citizens which would draw up a new constitution for the state and apply for readmission to the Union, Lincoln received a petition signed by a number of negroes in New Orleans which had the largest community of Free Negroes anywhere in the nation. All were landowners and taxpayers, some even veterans of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. They sent a copy of the following resolutions dated March 10, 1864, to Congress as well as to Lincoln:[3]

> [An appeal is made for free Louisiana Negroes to be made citizens so that they could participate in tin the reconstruction of the civil government of Louisiana and its admittance into the Union.]

4. Cn March 13, 1864, Lincoln wrote the following letter to Governor Michael Hahn of Louisiana, who had been elected on February 22 and inaugurated on March 4:[4]

> (Private)
>
> Executive Mansion, March 13, 1864.
>
> My dear Sir: I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as to the first free-State governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in--as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.
>
> Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

---

[3] Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People*, I, 494.

[4] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, X, 38-39.

5. On March 4, 1865 Lincoln concluded his Second Inaugural Address with the following words:[5]

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan--to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

6. Louisiana's convention was held, and the new constitution was adopted by white voters in the state. Representatives were then sent to Congress only to be denied their seats. Although Louisiana had fulfilled the reconstruction requirements established by Lincoln, it had not met the requirements set by Congress. These, as specified in the Wade-Davis Bill which was passed over Lincoln's veto, demanded as a precondition for reentry to the Union that one half of the number of the State's qualified voters in 1860 take the amnesty oath.

In his last public speech which was delivered on April 11, two days after Lee's surrender, Lincoln stated:[6]

> Fellow-Citizens: - We meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. . . .
>
> By these recent successes, the reinauguration of the national authority--reconstruction--which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great

---

[5] *Ibid.*, XI, 46-47.

[6] *Ibid.*, 88-92.

difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with--no man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mould from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner, and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana. In this I have done just so much and no more than the public knows. In the Annual Message of December, 1863, and the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, would be acceptable to and sustained by the Executive Government of the nation. . . .

The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000 or 30,000 or even 20,000 instead of only about 12,000 as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free-State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their legislature has already voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State--committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants--and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good their committal.

③

> Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how. If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it. . . . What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

B. Lincoln's Policy for the North

Lincoln had totally exempted the North from his Emancipation Proclamation. Would he never, then, touch the Negroes in those states which had remained loyal to the Union? The documents in Part B relate to Maryland, but suggest by implication what

Lincoln had in mind for the rest of the North.

1. In his second Annual Message to Congress, on December 1, 1862, Lincoln suggested the following amendment to the Constitution which would help bring an end to a rebellion which "without slavery . . . could never have existed, [and which] without slavery could not continue."[7]

> Article--.
>
> Every state wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand and nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States. . . .
>
> Article--.
>
> All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such who shall not have been disloyal shall be compensated for them at the same rates as are provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.
>
> Article--.
>
> Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

2. The following letter was sent to John A. J. Creswell, Maryland.[8]

Executive Mansion, March 7, 1864.

My dear Sir: I am very anxious for emancipation to be

---

[7] Ibid., VIII, 116-117.

[8] Ibid., X, 30-31.

> effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my expressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. . . .

3. Sanitary Fairs were held throughout the nation during the war to raise money to support the work of the United States Sanitary Commission, a private organization which was the forerunner of the Red Cross. On April 18, 1864, Lincoln delivered the following address at a Sanitary Fair in Baltimore:[9]

> LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Calling to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. Looking upon these many people assembled here to serve, as they best may, the soldiers of the Union, it occurs at once that three years ago the same soldiers could not so much as pass through Baltimore. The change from then till now is both great and gratifying. Blessings on the brave men who have wrought the change, and the fair women who strive to reward them for it!
>
> But Baltimore suggests more than could happen within Baltimore. The change within Baltimore is part only of a far wider change. When the war began, three years ago, neither party, nor any man, expected it would last till now. Each looked for the end, in some way, long ere today. Neither did any anticipate that domestic slavery would be much affected by the war. But here we are; the war has not ended, and slavery has been much affected--how much needs not now to be recounted. So true is that men proposes and God disposes.
>
> But we can see the past, though we may not claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.
>
> The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in

---

[9] Ibid., 76-78.

> want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names--liberty and tryanny.
>
> The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing, from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty. Recently, as it seems, the people of Maryland have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated.

4. On November 17, 1864, a group of Maryland citizens called on Lincoln. Their leader expressed their debt to the president:[10]

> [The leader of the group expressed appreciation to Lincoln for having the discretion to let Maryland abolish slavery on its own and expressed hope that the administration would continue to encourage restoration of the Union on the basis of freedom.]

5. On February 1, 1865, Lincoln signed the following resolution:[11]

> [This is a resolution submitted to the state legislatures requesting their ratification of

---

[10] Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, VIII, 114.

[11] Ibid., 253-254.

> the 13th amendment which would abolish slavery and involuntary servitude in the United States.]

6. On the evening of February 1, Lincoln was serenaded. As reported in the New York Herald Tribune, he addressed the following remarks to his well wishers:[12]

> [Lincoln remarks on his delight with the progress of the 13th amendment and notes that, though the Emancipation Proclamation was not extensive enough and was open to legal question, the 13th amendment "is a King's cure for all the evils."]

7. The following message to Congress was drafted by the President on February 5, 1865, but for the reason noted it was never sent. Perhaps Lincoln planned to reintroduce the subject at a later date:[13]

> Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I respectfully recommend that a joint resolution, . . . be adopted so soon as practicable by your honorable bodies: "Resolved . . . That the President of the United States is hereby empowered, in his discretion, to pay $400,000,000 to the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, in the manner and on the conditions following, to wit: The payment to be made in six per cent government bonds, and to be distributed among said States *pro rata* on their respective slave populations as shown by the census of 1860, and no part of said sum to be paid unless all resistance to the national authority shall be abandoned and cease, on or before the first day of April next; and upon such abandonment and ceasing of resistance one half of said sum to be paid in manner aforesaid, and the remaining half to be

---

[12] *Ibid.*, 254-255.

[13] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, XI, 1-3.

> paid only upon the amendment of the National Constitution recently proposed by Congress becoming valid law, on or before the first day of July next, by the action thereon of the requisite number of States."
>
> The adoption of such resolution is sought with a view to embody it, with other propositions, in a proclamation looking to peace and reunion.
>
> Whereas, a joint resolution has been adopted by Congress, in the words following, to wit:
>
> Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim . . . that on the conditions therein stated, the power conferred on the executive . . . will be fully exercised; that war will cease and armies be reduced to a basis of peace; that all political offenses will be pardoned; that all property, except slaves, liable to confiscation of forfeiture, will be released therefrom, . . . and that liberality will be recommended to Congress upon all points not lying within executive control. . . .
>
> February 5, 1865. To-day these papers, which explain themselves, were drawn up and submitted to the cabinet and unanimously disapproved by them.
>
> A. LINCOLN.

8. On April 19, Lincoln was assassinated. As the capitol led the nation in mourning, arrangements were made for the president's funeral procession:[14]

> [This article notes that a committee of colored citizens were refused permission to have a place in the Lincoln funeral procession. The author contends that Lincoln would have wanted them to have "the honor of following his remains to the grave."]

---

[14] Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People, I, 507.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The basic modern sources for Lincoln's writings is his *Collected Works*, edited by Roy P. Basler (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1933). From Lincoln's works Archer H. Shaw has compiled in *The Lincoln Encyclopedia* (Macmillan, New York, 1950) parts of some of Lincoln's more important statements; these are carefully indexed. Lincoln's major speeches and letters have been collected by Philip Van Doren Stern in *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (Random House, New York, 1940), which he prefaces with a biographical essay. Several shorter Lincoln collections are now available in paperback.

Of the more than 10,000 books and articles on Lincoln, few deal directly with the subject of this unit. Richard Hofstadter's chapter entitled "Abraham Lincoln and the Self-Made Myth," in his *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (Vintage Books, New York, 1948) comes closest. Richard N. Current's book *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1958) has chapters on "The Master Politician" and "The Friend of Freedom" which illuminate the issues of politics and emancipation. Most other helpful studies of this subject appear in full-length biographies which require selective reading. Carl Sandburg's six volumes are certainly the best known, largely for their wealth of detail and their poetic style. Volumes I and II treat *The Prairie Years*, Volumes III-VI *The War Years* (Harcourt Brace, New York, 1926-1939). Less famous but in some ways more scholarly are Allan Nevins' six volumes, two each on The Emergence of Lincoln, The Ordeal of the Union, and The War for the Union (Scribners, New York, 1847-1960). The Statesmanship of the Civil War by the same author (Macmillan, New York, 1953) defines that key idea and includes a chapter on "Lincoln as More Than a Statesman."

There is a wide selection of books available dealing with Lincoln's actions as they affected American negroes. Herbert Aptheker's A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol. I (Citadel Press, New York, 1965) provides some documents and James McPherson's The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union (Pantheon Books, New York, 1965) many more. Other first hand accounts are available in chapters on "The War and the Negro" and "The Year of the Proclamation" in The Tragic Years: 1860-1865 by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1960). Herbert Mitgang includes the views of negroes as well as those of white observers in the newspapers editorials he chose to reproduce in Lincoln as They Saw Him (Collier Books, New York, 1962).

Among the many writings by historians which analyze Lincoln's actions, the best study is The Emancipation Proclamation by John Hope Franklin (Anchor Book, New York, 1965). His From Slavery to Freedom (Knopf, New York, 1947) is also helpful. On the subject of northern attitudes toward negroes before and during the war, three studies are of great value. The Struggle *for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, by James M. McPherson (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1964) has three chapters dealing specifically with the proclamation and its ramifications. That is the subject also of a chapter in C. Vann Woodward's *The Burden of Southern History* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1960) under the title "Equality: The Deferred Commitment." Leon P. Litwack's *North of Slavery* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1964) points the finger at discrimination in the North during the civil war era.

Artists have frequently bettered historians in recreating the Lincoln of history. Two which stand out are Aaron Copland's musical *Lincoln Portrait*, available in several different recordings, and Stephen Vincent Benet's *John Brown's Body* (Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1928). At the beginning of Book V, the poet describes Lincoln's life as it bears on his decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation.